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GRIBKOV ADDRESSES WARSAW PACT MILITARY COUNCIL

LD221840 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI) -- The delegations attending the Budapest session of the Military Council of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty attended a jubilee conference on military science on Wednesday, discussing the role of the defence alliance over the past three decades and possibilities of further development.

Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the United Armed Forces, assessed the work of the defence alliance and discussed in detail the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty for the reduction of political and military tension. He stated the prolongation of the treaty expresses the will of the fraternal parties and peoples of the allied socialist countries to continue to strengthen unity, coordinate activities in international life, and seek the establishment of lasting global peace.

Then representatives of the negotiating groups made contributions. Lieutenant General Lajos Morocz, state secretary for the Hungarian Defence Ministry, emphasized that the Warsaw Treaty is the historical, political and defence alliance of the European socialist countries, is not directed against any country, and will continue to have the sole aim of the maintenance of peace and achievements of socialism. Finally he discussed areas and achievements of military cooperation between the member states.

The conference was attended by Colonel General Istvan Olah, Hungarian defence minister, members of the Military Council of the Defence Ministry, and invited guests.

CEMA NUCLEAR POWER SESSION ENDS 22 MAY

AU221959 Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA) -- Mr. Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and chairman of the intergovernmental commission for nuclear power stations outfitting of the C.M.E.A. member-countries, assessed the decisions of the 12th session of the commission, which ended here today, as especially important for the further broadening of the multilateral cooperation in the field of nuclear power generation and the related machinebuilding. The session was also attended by a delegation from Yugoslavia.

The session examined a number of issues related to the 1979 Agreement for Specialization and Cooperation in Production and for Mutual Supply of Equipment for Nuclear Power Stations. The fulfillment of the program for the construction of nuclear power stations and nuclear stations for hot water supply by the year 2000, co-ordinated with the decisions adopted at the Moscow economic summit of the C.M.E.A. member-countries, was examined at the session. Other matters connected with the cooperation in the field of nuclear power generation and machine building for the needs of the former were also viewed. The heads of the delegations visited the Kozloduy nuclear power station.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 22 May reports: "On 22 May Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the CEMA Intergovernmental Commission on Nuclear Equipment. In a cordial atmosphere they discussed matters pertaining to Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation in constructing the nuclear power plants in Kozloduy and Belene."]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIAL ON PLANINC COMMENTS

AU221456 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 22 May 85

[Unattributed report: "Planinc's Inventive Declaration"]

[Text] TANJUG has published an interview given by Planinc, Yugoslav premier, to THE NEW YORK TIMES prior to her departure for an official visit to the United States. Speaking about Yugoslavia's internal and external policy problems in connection with Albania, she stated:

Albania is causing problems, because it is claiming parts of Yugoslavia, interferes in its internal affairs, and violates its integrity.

Asked by an ATA correspondent to comment on the declaration made by this high Yugoslav state personage, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania answered:

Madame Planinc's declaration proves that the Belgrade leadership is keeping itself harnessed to a stale and false formula in order to justify its anti-Albanian stands and policies. The Belgrade leadership is tendentiously deforming the truth about Albania's policy toward Yugoslavia, which is a policy of noninterference and good-neighborliness, in the same way that it is openly deforming the justified interest of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania concerning the liberties and democratic national rights belonging to the Albanians in Kosovo and other areas of Yugoslavia.

If Madame Planinc has made this surprising statement in order to gain consideration among leading U.S. circles, this is another matter.

SPAHIU, MARKO SPEAK ON WORK OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

AU221118 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Tirana, May 22 (ATA) -- Implementing the tasks of the party and the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to raise higher the role and activity of the People's Council, the Presidium of the People's Assembly organized a meeting in the capital yesterday. Attending it were chairmen of the presidencies of the people's councils of the districts, vice-chairmen of the executive committees of the people's councils and other guests.

The report "The District People's Council, Under the Leadership of the Party Be Mobilised Entirely To Realise the Tasks of 1985" was held by the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Xhafer Spahiu.

The report and the discussion underlined that the district people's councils and their permanent commissions have turned into strength the great loss of the glorious leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha and have raised to a higher level the mobilisation at work to realise and overfulfill the tasks laid by the party in every field.

Comrade Rita Marko, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly spoke at the meeting.

POSSIBLE CHARGES AGAINST BTA'S TRAYKOV VIEWED

AU221031 Sofia BTA in English 0824 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA) -- Today RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries the following remark of the journalist Boyan Traykov headlined "Whom Does the Italian Prosecuting Magistracy Threaten?"

"The Italian 'ANSA' news agency announced that the Deputy General Prosecutor of the Republic in Rome Mr. Giacomo Paolini has started an investigation in connection with some considerations expressed by the BTA Director General Boyan Traykov and the French lawyer Christian Roulette on the trial in connection with the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II. Now the participants in the press conference held on May 17 at the association of foreign journalists in Rome are being interrogated at the law courts in Rome. The CORRIERE DELLA SERA newspaper explains: "So far a hypothesis of a crime has not been formulated but it is clear that if there is documentary confirmation of the phrases uttered this would result in the laying of exact charges."

This fact is quite indicative. In the statements I made at this press conference I expressed my opinion of the Roman investigation of the case of Sergey Antonov which is my irreversible right of a journalist. Neither I nor Mr. Roulette have said anything insulting to a person or institution. Our words bore the meaning that the investigation has not led to proving the guilt of Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev and that it was limited in scope and did not lead to determining the real organisers of the plot. This was a conclusion expressed and shared by millions of people interested in and closely following the progress of this case.

But I have expressed such an opinion more than once, including in my letters to Dr. Ilario Martella. Why has the Roman prosecuting magistracy decided to seek possibilities for laying charges against me and the author of "The Connection", the French lawyer Christian Roulette whose book was published as early as August 1984, precisely now?

Because critical opinions such as my own and that of Mr. Christian Roulette and many sharper ones began to be voiced more and more frequently by journalists and jurists, by public figures and intellectuals by many people and in many countries and in Italy itself. Maybe someone has come to the conclusion that this critical public attitude to the provocation of bringing Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyo Vasilev to trial will not be a favourable atmosphere for the forthcoming trial in Rome? Maybe the inquiry which the Roman prosecuting magistracy started is a way to warn and to force silence upon the voices of doubt in and criticism of the "Bulgarian connection" in the attempted assassination of the pope? And this warning and threat is obviously addressed above all to the Italian journalists. It is my opinion that this is precisely such an attempt because there is no other explanation to the groundless and unprecedented investigation started by the Roman prosecuting magistracy.

It is also my opinion that this investigation may also be an attempt to suggest that the indictment of Dr. Martella is not subject to discussion. Should we not regard this as an expression of moral pressure on the members of the forthcoming trial? In any case this act of the Roman prosecuting magistracy does not present the freedom of the press in the Republic of Italy in a favourable light.

CHURCH TO APPEAL TO POPE ON ANTONOV'S BEHALF

AU220856 Rome ANSA in English 0840 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] (ANSA) Sofia, May 22 -- The Bulgarian Orthodox Church intends to appeal to Pope John Paul II to "effectively intervene" in favor of Sergey Antonov, the Bulgarian national charged with complicity in the 1981 attempt on the pope's life, Orthodox Bishop Gerasim, secretary of the Bulgarian Synod, announced Tuesday.

On Monday, Antonov, two other Bulgarians and five other Turks, including convicted gunman Mehmet Ali Agca, will be defendants in what has been dubbed the trial of the century. According to the prosecution, Agca was recruited, in Sofia in 1980 by a gang of right-wing Turkish gangsters and drug smugglers believed to have close connections with the Bulgarian secret service to kill the pope whose influence in Eastern Europe was causing increasing concern in the Soviet bloc.

The Polish-born pope's triumphant visit to Poland in 1979 is widely believed to have led to the creation of the independent Solidarity movement and the pope's Slavic origin was seen as a rallying point for Catholics in Czechoslovakia, and in the Soviet republics of Lithuania and the Ukraine.

The charges against Antonov and the two Bulgarians who are not in Italian custody, gave birth to the so-called Bulgarian connection theory which is hotly challenged by a wide portion of the international press.

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church has already come forth to uphold Antonov's innocence and urged the pope's intervention.

Speaking on behalf of Bulgarian Patriarch Maximus, Gerasim said that thus far the pope's intervention in Antonov's favor has not been "effective" enough.

Last year the pope sent the Bulgarian patriarch a letter saying he had twice intervened with Italian authorities in favor of Antonov who was arrested in November 1982 and is now under house arrest.

'NEW ELEMENT' IN 'ANTI-BULGARIAN CAMPAIGN'

AU221818 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 22 May 85

["A New Link in the Anti-Bulgarian Campaign" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA) -- There is a new element in the anti-Bulgarian campaign waged by certain circles in Turkey during the last several months. An interview was given by the Bulgarian wrestler of the Trakia (Plovdiv) team, Binyo Machev, and shown on the Turkish television. The "full" text of the interview, which was transmitted in the beginning of May, was published by the HURRIJET and GUNES newspapers on May 9, and was then taken up by certain propaganda media in the West, chief among them, the "Radio Free Europe".

The enemies of Bulgaria did not even hide their glee. After their failure with the kidnapped Bulgarian national Aleksandur Yulianov, who at a meeting with foreign journalists, held at the Bulgarian Consulate in Istanbul, exposed the lawlessness, blackmail and torture to which he had been subjected by the Turkish secret services, they now had "at their disposal" a televised material, which could claim authenticity.

All the more that the compensation was completed: Instead of the "world famous boxer" Yulianov, who was found to be actually a barber, lately turned to breeding sheep, they now had the statements of a real wrestler, (though not one of national recognition), which were taken immediately after a match in Budapest.

Still, it is enough to examine more closely the content of the so-called "interview" to discover how crude is the fabrication of this new provocation. What calls the attention before all is Binyo Machev's poor command of the Turkish language. This not only contradicts the thesis, which is supported by the anti-Bulgarian circles, that the Turkish language is the mother tongue of the Muslim population in Bulgaria, but also casts serious doubt as to how well Machev really understood the questions and how far his answers were correct.

The second thing, which is obvious not only to T.V. specialists, is the biased cutting of Machev's statements: They are broken up in fragments of about ten seconds each. Obviously the text has been faked and everything which does not conform with the objectives of the interviewer has been cut off. This explains Machev's words that the conversation continued for at least 20 minutes, while the interview shown on T.V. was only 6 minutes long.

Here, we also have the third contradiction: Between the terms conversation and interview. Because the viewer is aware of the fact that the "interview" has been taken with a hidden camera without the knowledge and contrary to the will of Machev. For the Bulgarian sportsman, this has simply been a conversation with Yousuff Jambaz, ex-wrestler of the "Trakia" Club, who has gone to live in Turkey seven or eight years ago and who has been an old acquaintance of Machev and a friend of his brother. The conversation about the rumours of alleged torture, to which the Bulgarians Muslims have been subjected, has taken place on this friendly basis. The conversation also makes clear the sources from which Machev himself has heard about these rumours: the "Radio Free Europe" and the "B.B.C."

It is not necessary to dwell upon all other contradictions and unclarified moments surrounding the so-called "interview". One of those comes from the fact that it has been shot on March 8, but has been shown two months later. We will not dwell upon the crudely biased manner in which the questions have been asked. These questions in themselves contain the answer wanted by the interviewer. We will only refer to Machev's letter to the BTA director and to his statements before journalists from the Bulgarian television: "I was surprised and indignant to learn that my private conversation with my acquaintance has been presented as an "interview"... and also: "I only spoke of rumours, which I had heard on 'Free Europe' and the 'B.B.C.' and not of things, which I had seen myself. All the more that at the time in question I was almost permanently on training camps. I have never had the intention to leave my motherland -- Bulgaria. If I had wanted to, I could have done it on a number of occasions -- I have been abroad dozens of times, twice in Turkey itself, where I have had victories over their best wrestler Assan Seyhanlu. My greatest desire is with my victories to represent my motherland -- the People's Republic of Bulgaria, honorably on the forthcoming international competitions.

ZHIVKOV, DELEGATION TO VISIT MONGOLIA IN JUNE

AU221424 Sofia BTA in English 1405 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA) -- A Bulgarian party and state delegation headed by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, will pay an official and friendly visit to Mongolia in the beginning of June at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of Mongolia.

REPORTAGE ON HUSAK'S REELECTION AS PRESIDENT

Strougal Nominating Speech

LD221255 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0745 GMT 22 May 85

[Text of speech by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier, proposing Gustav Husak for the reelection as president of the CSSR at 22 May Federal Assembly session in Prague -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade chairman of the Federal Assembly, comrade deputies, esteemed guests:

For us all, deputies of the Federal Assembly, there has come again a responsible, but at the same time, festive occasion. We have assembled to elect a head of state for another 5-year term. We all understand that this is an act of great significance. This is because the president of the Republic is, in the spirit of modern tradition, the symbol of Czechoslovak socialist statehood and the integrating factor of the Czechoslovak Federation. He represents our socialist state and its class base, the fraternal alliance of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, the broadly-based National Front associating political parties, social and interest-based organizations of the working people. He personifies the leading role of the CPCZ and its bond with the people, the fraternal unity of the Czechs and Slovaks and the citizens of other nationalities, and is one of the main guarantors that the guiding principle of our foreign-political orientation -- to strengthen and deepen friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other states of our socialist community -- will be applied consistently.

These key and important principles underline our joint responsibility in today's important state act. They were borne in mind by the CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, who entrusted me to submit to you, comrade deputies, their unanimous decision and joint proposal that Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, should be reelected president of the CSSR for the next period. [applause]

This proposal was given responsible consideration and proceeds from the deep knowledge of the life-long work of Comrade Husak, his activity in high party, state and public posts and his work during the period in which he has stood at the head of our state.

Comrade Husak has proven his abilities and fully applied his personal abilities, which have become a source of trust and respect of our working people. Among his main attributes is above all that he is a highly educated man, possessing extensive life experiences from which springs his statesman's wisdom, prudence, and resoluteness in implementing the policy aims of the CPCZ, both in the internal and external policy of our state. Our citizens deservedly appreciate his sincere interest in their needs and worries, his implacable attitude to shortcomings wherever they appear, and the high standards he requires. Our public values his purposeful efforts to create and continually improve the prerequisites for broadening the peoples' participation in the management and administration of public affairs, in shaping and implementing the policy of the leading force of our society -- the CPCZ.

We all know Comrade Husak well and know that his character, his adherence to principles and industry are not fortuitous. They are the direct consequence of the extraordinarily active and busy -- although not an easy -- life, the consequence of the knowledge and experiences of a man born and brought up in a working class family.

The environment of poverty in which he grew up, the striking social injustice he saw around him every day, shaped his class consciousness, his world outlook, and fundamentally influenced the entire future course of his life. From there the conviction was born that it was necessary to struggle perseveringly against the capitalist system, for the conditions were maturing for its elimination.

This is why Comrade Husak worked during the early stages of his life among similar thinking revolutionary youth, and in 1933 he joined the CPCZ whose ideas and policy objectives were so close to his. This was during the period of the world economic crisis, which had such a profound impact on our working people. It profoundly worsened their social position and overall living conditions. This all manifested itself especially heavily in the then especially backward Slovakia, where a number of problems of the bourgeois republic was even more aggravated. The natural consequence of this situation was then the sharpening of class conflicts, which merely confirmed the correctness of the orientation of the CPCZ on the revolutionary struggle against bourgeois rule.

After the Munich diktat, which was preceded by the betrayal of the Western allies of the then republic, the internal-political situation worsened further with clerical-fascist reaction usurping power in Slovakia. We all know well the consequences of this as well as the latter development. Recently we commemorated the struggle of the Czech and Slovak people, full of sacrifices, against Nazi occupation, against Hitlerite fascism and Titoite clerical-fascism, for the freedom of our nations.

Comrade Husak ranked among those courageous communists and patriots who took an active part in this heroic struggle. He worked in the leadership of Communist Party of Slovakia, then underground in the resistance movement directed by the Moscow-based leadership of the CPCZ, and was one of the leading figures and organizers of the Slovak national uprising. He fully supported its basic ideas: the restoration of a unitary Czechoslovak state, its new people's democratic character, and the consistently equal relations between both our nations.

Ranking among the undoubted merits of Comrade Husak is also his role in the preparation of such an important document as the Kisece government program, for the fulfillment of which he then strove consistently in high party and state posts. And in the memorable February of 1948 in which this stage of the historic struggle our Communist Party reached its climax and during which the future destiny of our republic, its internal development, and foreign orientation was finally settled, he made no small contribution to the defeat of the reactionary forces, the historic victory of the people, and to paving the way to building socialism.

We can state with justification that Comrade Husak ranks among those important representatives of the CPCZ who firmly and forever linked their life and their entire work with the struggle for the freedom of our homeland, for its new social and economic order. He ranks among those who have always striven and given their services to building socialism, shaping a happy and contented life for our working people.

The fifties, when he was forcibly excluded from political and public life, was not an easy one for Comrade Husak. Thanks to his unbreakable communist conviction and high moral steadfastness he managed to deal with the severe consequences of the unjust accusation. In this, too, his great inner strength and loyalty to the ideas to which he has dedicated his entire life manifested themselves.

In the turbulent years of 1968 and 1969, in the difficult period of deep crisis in the party and society, Comrade Husak again proved his unequivocal loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideas and friendship, and alliance with the Soviet Union.

He deserves great personal credit for ensuring that the new leadership of the CPCZ, of which he was the head, succeeded in tackling by political means the difficult problems of the then crisis and its consequences. We can say that thanks to this effort the process of social, political, and economic consolidation was successfully carried out. Along with restoration of the disturbed internationalist ties with the countries of our socialist community, with the Soviet Union, the confidence of the working people in the policy of the CPCZ grew and thus the socialist development of our society was able to continue.

The results achieved due to the good work of our citizens in implementing the conclusions of the 14th, 15th, and 16th CPCZ congresses testify to the fact that we are proceeding along the correct path. There is not a single area of our social life where there has not been visible progress whose common denominator is attention to the interests and needs of the citizens of this country. This is the policy Comrade Husak is pursuing consistently and in whose undoubted results he has his own significant personal role.

Despite the fact that the period during which he has stood at the head of the Communist Party and the state was not and is not an easy one, there has occurred a further development and strengthening of the socialist order; the growth of living standards has been successfully ensured and the international position and authority of Czechoslovakia has been reinforced. We have succeeded in coping with large and complicated problems at home as well as with a number of negative influences arising from the political and economic development in the world, the ramifications of which Comrade Husak has always drawn attention to with far-sightedness.

He is well aware that further improvement of conditions for the life and work is dependent on how quickly and consistently an improvement of the quality of work, the raising of productivity, more economic utilization of all resources, and more effective production in general and on how the effectiveness of management will be raised and the initiative of the working people developed. This is why Comrade Husak has been tirelessly and resolutely supporting this only possible orientation.

Our public also appreciates the openness and criticism with which he addresses himself to negative phenomena in our society, everything that is not in keeping with socialist principles and which makes the everyday life of our people more difficult and impedes our further progress. He has stressed on more than one occasion that we cannot and indeed do not want to be satisfied with how far we have already progressed. This is because the present and future satisfaction of the legitimate needs and interests of the working people inexorably places on the agenda the tackling of many new questions and new tasks. It is apparent today that everything we want to do in the future to make our common home even better will require even more honest work of good quality, a further unification of views, efforts and course of action of the entire National Front and the winning over of all honest citizens for committed participation in fulfilling the policy aims of the CPCZ both in the national economy and other spheres of our social life.

The CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR are convinced that the election of Comrade Husak as president of the Republic will be an important step, that in the highest office of the state he will, as before, strive to ensure that our intentions are successfully carried out and that conditions for the contented life of our working people are systematically ensured.

Comrade deputies! Our citizens are following with constant and understandable interest the development of the international situation, which remains tense due to the aggressive circles of imperialism. Their representatives have brought unrest into mutual relations between nations and states.

They are trying to gain military strategic superiority and to create a situation in which they could with the threat of nuclear weapons dictate their will to the socialist states and other free nations. These dangerous trends in world development can be stopped only through the joint action of all peace-loving, progressive, and democratic forces -- including our country.

We fully support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and together with the other countries of our community we are striving for progress and relaxation of international tension, the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, and to move to disarmament. It is necessary to say that in this peace activity Comrade Husak occupies an important position. He is tireless in taking care that these main principles of the foreign policy of the CPCZ and our socialist state enter the subconsciousness of our citizens. He is taking care to ensure that they are fully respected and pushed through, with initiative, in our foreign policy.

We recall much evidence testifying to Comrade Husak's personal commitment in this important struggle for peace, manifesting itself during international negotiations. Reflected in this is his tireless efforts for socialist Czechoslovakia to share actively in the preservation of the most precious possession of mankind, and that it contributes as much as possible to the development of fruitful and mutually benefited peaceful cooperation between states and nations.

Comrade Husak ranks among the important figures of the international communist and workers' revolutionary movement. He has won in it authority and respect by consistently championing internationalist principles, by being loyal to strengthening the unity and increasing the weight of this movement in the world. His life credo of communist and patriot is well-known: to continuously deepen friendship and unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states; an effort to ensure that the inner cohesion and unity of our socialist community grows.

From these viewpoints, Comrade Husak's role in strengthening the ties of alliance among the Warsaw Pact member-states deserves appreciation. The defensive character of the pact and the strength it represents is an important factor and mainstay of the peace-loving and progressive forces in Europe and the world. In this policy, too, our republic has won respect and authority in the world. We are convinced that Comrade Husak will continue after his election on the course already embarked upon, that he will consistently and creatively continue to champion this only correct line of our foreign policy.

Comrades deputies! The CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR are firmly convinced that their joint and unanimous proposal that Comrade Gustav Husak should be elected president of the CSSR is fully in keeping with these demands of the time, in keeping with the innermost interests of our people, with the requirements of the further development of our socialist society and the socialist state. I would like to express what we all surely feel during these festive moments and what we all are aware of, and that is that our vote for Comrade Gustav Husak is a vote for a peaceful and ever richer life of the people of this country, that it is a vote for the certainties of the future, for the further flourishing of our beautiful homeland -- the CSSR. [applause]

Officials at Reelection Listed

LD221357 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 22 May 85

[Excerpts] Deputies of both chambers of the Federal Assembly gathered in the Vladislav Hall of Prague Castle today for a joint session in order to discharge one of the most fundamental constitutional rights: to elect the president of the CSSR for the next 5-year term office.

Federal Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal; Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra; of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, and Jozef Lenart, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, and Miloslav Hruskovic; candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, Frantisek Pitra, and Jindrich Polendnik; secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee Zdenek Horeni and Marie Kabrhelova; members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat; and Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, took their seats in the honorary presidium.

Also present during the ceremonial occasion were members of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, representatives of political parties and social organizations in the National Front, members of the presidiums of the Czech and Slovak National Front, and vice premiers and ministers of the federal government and of the governments of the Czech and Slovak SRs. Delegations of working people from all regions, Prague, and Bratislava; a delegation of the CSSR Armed Forces; outstanding figures from the sciences, culture, and education; high-ranking church officials; outstanding sportsmen; and Czechoslovak and foreign journalists were also among the guests.

After the election, those present went to the courtyard of Prague Castle where they viewed a ceremonial marchpast by an honor guard composed of members of the Castle Guard and Prague garrison, which assembled in honor of the reelected president of the republic and commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

Husak Receives Congratulations

LD221824 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Comrade Husak, after being reelected and sworn in as president, was visited by delegations of the highest federal and republic organs, delegations of party, state, and social organs, and workers from all regions of the CSSR in the reception rooms of Prague Castle. They came to congratulate him on his election to the office of CSSR president.

The Presidium of our highest legislative body greeted the elected president of the republic on behalf of the deputies of the Federal Assembly. Federal Assembly Chairman Alois Indra emphasized that the unanimous election is an expression of the united will of the Czechoslovak people, and their respect for the life-long work of Comrade Gustav Husak. He assured him that the deputies of the Federal Assembly will continue to actively contribute to the fulfillment of the program of building a socialist society.

Gustav Husak then received the federal government officials, on whose behalf he was congratulated by Premier Lubomir Strougal. He assured him that the federal government will, in a fully responsible way, implement CPCZ policy into life, as it expresses the interests of our people and the socialist development of the CSSR.

Comrade Gustav Husak also received the Presidium of the Czech National Council and the government of the Czech SR, on whose behalf he was congratulated by Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council.

Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, heading the delegation of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, and the government of the Slovak SR, conveyed greetings to Comrade Husak.

Comrade Gustav Husak also received delegations of leading representatives of the National Front, other political parties, and social organizations united in the National Front. Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front Tomas Travnicek, speaking on their behalf, assured the president of the Republic of their all-round help and support in his responsible state office.

Karel Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, expressed congratulations to Comrade Gustav Husak on behalf of more than 7 million members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will continue to take an active part in the development of our advanced socialist society, for the happy life of our people, Comrade Hoffmann said.

A meeting between Comrade Gustav Husak and representatives of the Soviet Embassy, the Central Group of Soviet Armed Forces, and the representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces attached to the Ministry of National Defense, took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. Ambassador Viktor Lomakin congratulated Gustav Husak on his election to the highest state office on their behalf. He wished him good health and many successes in his demanding work for the benefit of the Czechoslovak people and the further deepening of friendship between the people of the CSSR and the USSR. In his reply, Comrade Gustav Husak said that the deep friendship and alliance with the USSR is the foundation of our foreign policy, a reliable international guarantee of our independence and national liberty. He emphasized that the party and state organs will continue to give constant attention to comprehensive deepening of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

Members of the Prague diplomatic corps also came to congratulate Gustav Husak on his election as president of the republic. Bela Kovacs, ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary, wished him many successes as the head of the Czechoslovak state, and thanked him for the attention he gives to the activity of diplomats in the CSSR, on their behalf. Comrade Gustav Husak, in reply, recalled the 40 years of peace since the end of World War II, and emphasized that the greatest task for all statesmen and diplomats today is to preserve peace. He expressed the conviction that there will be success in achieving detente and averting the danger of a nuclear war. The CSSR, which strives for good relations with all states, regardless of their social system, welcomes with joy every step toward this goal. The president of the Republic asked the leading representatives of diplomatic establishments in the CSSR, to convey to the heads of state and people of their countries his sincere greetings. Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, was also present at the reception of the diplomatic corps.

Comrade Gustav Husak was then congratulated on his election as CSSR president by delegations of the workers of Prague, Bratislava, and all regions of the Republic, who expressed happiness and satisfaction on behalf of our citizens, that Comrade Gustav Husak, whose life-long activity is indivisible from the revolutionary changes of our country, the building of a developed socialist society, the securing the peaceful life of our people, was reelected as the head of state.

Delegations of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, headed by Colonel General Milan Vlacik, minister of national defense; the Federal Ministry of Interior, headed by Minister Vratislav Vajnar; and the People's Militia, headed by Miroslav Novak, chief of the Main Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Militia, greeted their supreme commander. They assured Comrade Husak that the armed components are prepared to stand guard over peace and socialism, to responsibly fulfill all tasks in securing the defense capability of our state and the whole socialist community. Finally, Comrade Gustav Husak met with workers of the Chancellery of the President. Its chief, Frantisek Salda, cordially congratulated him on his reelection to the office of head of state.

FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS ARRIVES 23 MAY

LD230932 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] French Minister of External Relations Roland Dumas arrived today for an official visit to the CSSR at the invitation of Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs. At Ruzyně Airport in Prague he was welcomed by Bohuslav Chnoupek and other officials.

STROUGAL RECEIVES CUBA'S DOMENECH, DELEGATION

LD212159 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Today at the Hrzan Palace in Prague Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Joel Domenech Benitez, Council of State member and Council of Ministers of Cuba vice president, who is heading the Cuban delegation at the ninth session of the Czechoslovak-Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation. In their conversation, the federal premier praised the results achieved in the development of Czechoslovak-Cuban political, economic, and cultural relations, and stressed that favorable prerequisites are also being created for comprehensive cooperation in the future. The two representatives briefed each other, in this connection, on the state of preparations for the coming 5-year plan and discussed some ideas to implement the achievement of the proposed intensifying economic cooperation.

[Havana Domestic Service in Spanish at 1000 GMT on 22 May reports "In Prague, Cuba and the CSSR have signed contracts for the production of various types of turbines so Cuba can make extensive use of its natural energy resources."]

ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH ANGOLA SIGNED

LD171650 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 17 May 85

[Text] The third session of the joint Czechoslovak-Angolan Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation ended in Prague today with the signing of the final protocol. The talks were conducted for the Czechoslovak side by Bohumil Urban, minister of foreign trade, and for the Angolan side by Henrique de Carvalho Santos, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Party of Labor and minister of industry. Both sides agreed on the development of cooperation in agriculture, food, textile, leather, and furniture industries, the assembly of tractors, and cooperation in other areas of the national economy.

BERLIN MEETING WITH FRG TO DISCUSS DISARMAMENT

AU230818 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Bonn, May 22 (AFP) -- West German and East German officials will exchange views on disarmament at the East German Foreign Ministry in East Berlin on Friday, it was announced here today.

The exchange, the third of its kind since 1981, will cover West-East negotiations now being held in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna, the West German Foreign Ministry said.

Earlier exchanges took place on July 3 1981 in East Berlin and October 28 1983 in Bonn.

Current West-East talks are between the United States and the Soviet Union in Geneva, at the Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE) in Stockholm, and on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) in Central Europe in Vienna.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR CULTURAL PACT WITH FRG CONTINUE

LD221633 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Berlin, 22 May (ADN) -- The 11th negotiations for the conclusion of a cultural agreement between the GDR and the FRG governments took place today in the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The GDR delegation was headed by Kurt Nier, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs. The leader of the FRG delegation was Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG Permanent Mission in the GDR.

It was agreed to continue the negotiations.

HOFFMANN HEARS SWEDE PRAISE GDR MILITARY TIES

LD221330 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] The military delegation headed by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, GDR defense minister, which is currently on an official visit to Sweden, was the guest today of an Air Force squadron. The delegation observed the level of training and combat equipment, particularly concerning the Saab-Viggen aircraft. Yesterday, at a reception, the Swedish defense minister praised the good development of military relations with the GDR.

PEOPLE'S CHAMBER GROUP RECEIVED IN PARIS

LD230956 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0800 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Alain Poher, president of the French Senate, has praised the good parliamentary contacts with the GDR. He received a People's Chamber delegation in Paris yesterday. During the friendly meeting, Poher recalled in this connection last year's visit by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann. In yesterday's talk with the GDR deputies and French senators, the need to use parliamentary relations for securing peace was emphasized. This could also influence interstate relations positively.

The guests from the GDR also took part in a session of the Senate and spoke with local politicians.

SED, BELGIAN SOCIALISTS HOLD TALKS IN BRUSSELS

LD222326 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2036 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Brussels, 22 May (ADN) -- An SED Central Committee delegation headed by Central Committee member Manfred Feist had an exchange of views on international political issues with Karel van Miert, president of the Belgian Socialist Party (Flemish), in Brussels today. The president stressed the usefulness of and need for political dialogue. He reaffirmed his party's stand demanding the rapid withdrawal of U.S. nuclear cruise missiles deployed in Belgium. In this connection he welcomed the USSR's latest proposals for limiting nuclear arms.

Manfred Feist explained the GDR's contribution to the socialist peace policy and spoke about the initiatives of the working people of the GDR for the overall strengthening of the GDR in preparation for the 11th SED Congress. Other members of the Belgian Socialist Party leadership and GDR Ambassador Heinz Hoffmann took part in the talk.

The SED delegation is in Belgium at the invitation of the Socialist Party - French speaking.

BORDER OFFICER INTERVIEWED ON SHOOTING INCIDENT

DW230740 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1815 GMT 22 May 85

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Vollstedt of the GDR border troops by correspondent Werner Brussau at the border site of the 19 May Berlin shooting incident; from the "Kennzeichen D" program -- recorded]

[Text] [Brussau] Lieutenant Colonel, statements by people of West Berlin and by British military patrols say that there was some shooting in this area here around 2240 and then again at approximately 0300 in the morning.

[Vollstedt] Mister, I can tell you that there was no shooting in this sector at this time. I am familiar with the border regime in this area. All documents prove that at that time not a single shot was fired in this border section. All that could be heard were the shots of the hunter at the time the hunt was on.

DEPUTY MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON ENERGY PLANS

AU211101 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 May 85 p 5

[Interview with Gyula Czipper, deputy minister of industry, by Judit Kozma; time and place not given; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] This year's winter was a considerable trial for us. Energy restrictions caused production and export losses, the shortage of coal created a difficult situation in supplying fuel to the population, and all this directed attention to the tension in our energy situation. Our sources are far from unlimited and it is possible to expand them only through great sacrifices. Acceleration of the energy and improvement of the population's living conditions, however, require an increase in consumption. Will the funds be available for this year and for the next 5-year plan? How can we lay the foundations for a secure supply of energy? We discussed this with Gyula Czipper, deputy minister of industry.

Kozma: The unusually harsh winter has modified this year's energy consumption plans. Do we have reserves to cover the further increase in consumption? How can we avoid these situations similar to those of last winter throughout the rest of this year?

Czipper: There has not been such a cold winter for 20 years. The extra consumption caused by the winter alone is equal to approximately 500,000 metric tons of oil, the amount used for heating was 25 percent higher than a year before. This in itself is enough to cause the delicate energy supply balance to be upset. The fact that piped imported natural gas temporarily fell behind only made the situation more difficult. Where natural gas could be replaced by oil, we made up for the shortage in the course of the winter with imported oil and oil products. This, however, cannot be done everywhere; therefore, in the coldest days, we finally had to restrict the supply of gas to large industrial consumers in order to fulfill the needs of the population. In electric energy supply, technical problems in the 750 KW line and in the CEMA energy system caused short disturbances on several occasions.

Finally, in the first quarter we consumed 30 percent of the energy planned for 1985; more than planned. There is also a need for extra energy to make up for losses in production and exports. Therefore, in order to be able to avoid tension this year, on the one hand, we have to make up a part of the extra consumption by economizing, and, on the other, we have to create additional sources to cover the increase in energy consumption.

First of all, we will restore the strongly depleted reserves so as to possess adequate sources for a balanced supply. In order to achieve this, we will increase the production of domestic energy branches. The Paks nuclear power station, for example, is supplying more electricity than planned; there will be a considerable expansion in production of natural gas and firewood; and where possible the mining enterprises should extract more coal. We will enlarge the capacity of natural gas storage tanks in order to be able to draw on a larger quantity of natural gas than at present, in case of need next winter. We will also purchase more energy materials than planned from abroad; we will increase imports of oil products, for instance, and will import coal and briquettes to fulfill the needs of the population. All this, combined with adequate savings measures, will cover the expected increase in energy consumption and will improve the certainty of supplies.

Kozma: As a result of this, what will be the role of economizing?

Czipper: According to our calculations economizing will counterbalance two-thirds of the extra consumption; thus, in the course of the year, energy consumption will be approximately 1 percent higher than planned. Requirements connected with economizing, however, are really bigger than this, as the plan itself also took into account considerable economizing. Therefore, as a whole the economy is facing rather tough tasks. It is necessary for enterprises, and primarily the energy-intensive branches, to increase production in a way that will not simultaneously increase their energy consumption, something that calls for a considerable improvement in specific consumption. It is also important to make sure that enterprises do not try to compensate for production losses caused by energy restrictions in just any way, but only where this is economical and their products can be well exported.

Energy management must also expand to assume many new elements, in order to have enterprises reduce their consumption. To achieve this, we have also taken several central measures. In 84 of the largest energy consuming enterprises, for instance, we have determined the quantity of energy necessary for their plans' implementation, and when consumption exceeds this amount, enterprises will pay a fee for the utilization of extra energy. We would also like to help the population to economize more efficiently than previously -- mainly by supplying modern equipment and acquainting them with the possibilities of saving.

Kozma: All this shows that, even if we do not have to face serious day-to-day problems, meeting our energy supply will continue to be difficult. At the same time we expect the economy to accelerate in the Seventh 5-year Plan. How is the energetics branch preparing for this?

Czipper: We are expecting an annual 1-percent increase in energy consumption in the national economy in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, including a 3-percent increase in electric power consumption. There can only be a realistic import of natural gas in the period ahead of us, therefore, the expansion must be essentially covered by the domestic energy production branches. According to our plans, domestic production will increase by a total of some 11 percent in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. The production of hydrocarbons cannot be increased. The production of coal calculated in caloric value will be 16 percent higher than this year. We can expect an expansion of our energy sources, mainly through the Paks nuclear power station. As a result of bloc 3 and 4 becoming operational in the coming years, the nuclear power station's electrical power production will almost double and by 1990 it will cover demand.

Power Station Construction Plan

Kozma: The proportion of imports remains considerable -- we purchase 30 percent of our electric energy from abroad, a proportion that is high compared to international standards. In connection with this year's restrictions, too, the matter of excessive dependence was often brought up.

Czipper: Although the considerable imports can cause operators certain problems, there have not yet been any considerable, lasting restrictions. Although possible technical faults can cause power failures, the advantages derived from the cooperation, the connecting of the CEMA countries' energy systems, however, are greater. Through this system we can mutually help each other, a fact that increases the reliability of the energy supply. At the same time, the share of imports will somewhat decrease in the future -- we will ensure that the increased electric energy consumption is essentially covered by the construction of a new domestic.

Kozma: Is there already a decision concerning the construction of the next power station? Considering the rather long completion time for such an investment, are we not already late with this development?

Czipper: Given the planned annual 3-percent increase in electric power consumption, the first bloc of a new power station will be required to be in operation by 1992. Until then, demand will be covered by the two blocks of the Paks nuclear power station that will become operational in the coming years. No decision on a final program of power station construction, including all the details, has been made yet. We have carried out the analyses connected with this. We analyzed many different variations. The analyses show that a continuation of nuclear power station construction, that is, the further expansion of the Paks nuclear power station, is the optimum solution.

Along with the nuclear power station, we are also analysing the locations and possibilities of establishing coal-fueled power stations. Among these are the power station based on lignite in Bukkabrancy, and the expansion of the Danube power station with coal-fueled blocs. The latter is particularly important from the point of view of hydrocarbon saving.

Kozma: Setting such a pace for the power station construction program is only realistic if the increase in electric power consumption does not exceed the annual 3 percent. In recent years, however, and under conditions of slower economic growth, this increase has generally been 4 percent. We are planning to accelerate the economy in the next plan period. How can this contradiction be resolved?

Czipper: There are essentially three factors that most influence the increase of electric power consumption: the degree of efficiency of consumption, the production structure of industry, including the proportion of electric power-intensive production, and the development of the population's electricity consumption. Considerable efforts will undoubtedly be required in order to influence all three of these factors.

Saving electric power will be one of the priorities of the government program of energy management in the coming years. In order to achieve this, we have, for example, modified the system of tenders of investments for energy rationalization so that it better encourages electricity saving. In addition, we wish to encourage and help in various ways the reduction of electric power consumption in the production branches. This is particularly important in the branches that use relatively a lot of electric power. A similarly important task is the reduction of the rate of increase in consumption by the population. At present, electricity consumption per household in Hungary is about 1,760 KWH, which is 20-30 percent lower than in the CSSR and the GDR, and only half or a third of the consumption in the industrially developed countries. With the expansion of housing construction and the improvement of living conditions, the consumption of energy by the population will inevitably increase in Hungary, too. The rate of the increase can, however, be reduced. Between 1980-84 the population's consumption increased annually by an average of 8.7 percent. It is necessary that this rhythm should not exceed the annual average 4.5 percent in the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

This is an enormous task. There have been several attempts in recent years aimed at fulfilling it. For example, the increase in energy prices will certainly force the population to save more. Having more up-to-date and efficient equipment and making efforts to substitute another form of energy for electric power would be a great help. But there is also an important role here for propaganda, for the introduction of methods of economizing and the wider use of these methods. The decrease in the rate of energy consumption by the population is an important condition for improving the data on national energy consumption.

Kozma: Electric power is only one aspect of the population's consumption. What is the most sensible way to substitute for it in households? Can the natural gas program be carried on? Is it possible to have more settlements connected to the gas mains?

Czipper: A great role is still played by pipeline gas in the population's consumption. At present there are about 600,000 households connected to the gas mains. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan there has been considerable development in this sector. Whereas at present about 100,000-120,000 new consumers are envisaged, thanks to an immense material contribution and the voluntary work of the population, by the end of 1985 there will be 250,000 new consumers connected to the gas lines. Considering that by the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan our natural gas resources will not have increased substantially, the source of supplying new consumers can be found in the natural gas saved by the power station. Thus in the coming years we can expect a somewhat more moderate increase. According to plans, about 200,000 households can be connected to the mains in areas already supplied with gas.

Kozma: During recent years coal mining has become a critical point in domestic power production. Mining output has decreased year by year since 1982, and despite all efforts it has remained below expectations. Is there any change to be expected in the mining situation and, hence, in the situation of below-surface mining, which is struggling with serious problems?

Czipper: In recent years the miners have made incredible efforts to satisfy demand. They have had to cope with especially great and hard tasks, particularly during this exceptionally cold winter. Many have worked 50-60 extra shifts annually in order to supply the consumers with enough coal. But they still could not make up for the temporary decrease in production fields and the extremely fast drop in the number of those employed. This hindered the growth of production.

This year's plan envisages the mining of a total of 25.2 million tons of coal, and, for households, the production of 5.2 million tons of coal and briquettes. But the mining industry can only fulfill this requirement if working conditions are stabilized. In order to improve the situation, the Council of Ministers has recently examined the problems of the industry and issued several measures. The enterprises will be able to spend 700 million forints above the planned amount to improve technical aspects and mechanization. Apart from improving technical standards, another basic task will be to stop the reduction in the work force and ensure manpower replacement. To promote this the government has raised the level of income of the workers in the coal mining sector.

Based on government assistance, the enterprises have initiated efforts to fulfill the expectations of the national economy as early as this year. This will further require a maximum effort by the miners and a relatively high level of overtime.

Kozma: From everything said so far, it is evident that there is only a very slight possibility of substituting various power sources for each other. Thus, one of the favored methods of energy rationalization of previous years will, therefore, be hardly feasible. What are the chances of reducing the demand for energy in the present situation?

Czipper: A reduction in the consumption of the most expensive power source remains an important element of our energy policy, but the practice according to which enterprises have often substituted natural gas for oil will not be possible in the future, or if so, such a practice can be allowed by a very limited number of firms. In the future we intend to give priority to those developments that result in absolute savings of energy because, to a considerable extent, we have to provide for the energy demand of economic growth by way of economizing.

One cannot imagine economic development without a certain increase in energy consumption, but the aim is to ensure that the rate of increase in energy demand is slower than the rate of economic development. It is in this spirit that the energy management program of the next plan period determines the tasks. We attach particular importance to the rationalization of energy technologies, the reduction of specific consumption, and the increased utilization of microelectronics and automatization.

The reduction of energy needs is at the same time only partially a question of energetics. The question of whether we succeed in modernizing our industrial production structure adequately or extensively enough is also of considerable importance. One side of the question is the way the proportion of energy intensive branches changes within industry. The relative deceleration in the development of these branches, and, at the same time, the rapid increase in activities demanding less energy can considerably reduce the economy's energy demand. This, of course, does not depend just on the proportion of the production of metallurgy, the heavy chemical industry, or the construction-material industry, but also on the internal structure of these branches. The modification of the structure, the expansion of goods production processed at a higher level demand relatively less energy than the manufacturing of basic materials. This, of course, has a favorable influence on the overall energy consumption of the national economy.

In the final analysis, the economy's energy demand can only really decrease if we increase the production of high-value, modern goods that can be efficiently marketed in world markets. All this is far from being primarily a question of energetics. It shows, however, that the tasks of energy management harmonize in many respects with the tasks of increasing our competitiveness and improving our efficiency.

TOT CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON AGRICULTURAL PLANS

AU220922 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 May 85 p 7

[Interview with Janos Eleki, chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, by correspondent Nandor Keresztenyi: "The Command of Development"]

[Text] Keresztenyi: I asked Dr Janos Eleki, chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperative [TOT], about the multifaceted tasks of the present and the future. Will the agricultural cooperatives be able to fulfill their commitments in the coming years just as they did between the last two congresses?

Eleki: All members and employees of the cooperatives find it comforting that the agricultural and cooperative policy, which has been more or less unchanged since 1957, will continue. We believe that this continuation of policies is the guarantee of our progress. The development of the cooperatives is a living process. There were several speakers at the congress who mentioned our problems. I consider these problems to be so important that they could give us new stimuli, if they are solved as we proceed ahead.

In 1984 we learned from various useful experiences and perhaps it is to the point to mention a few figures. The value of large-scale production, as produced by 1,279 cooperatives, 62 specialized cooperatives, 16 fishing cooperatives, and 38 agricultural joint enterprises was 5.6 percent higher than last year. Production decreased in private plots and in industrial activities, mainly in the building industry, and the sales problems of certain products became chronic. It is true that we reached our highest production level of wheat, but prices on the international market were not favorable for making wheat and meat production successful. The number of employees fell, individual incomes grew less than expected, and liquidity problems were also in evidence. In most cases cooperatives are found at the end of the so-called chain of money circulation. However, it is indubitable that the tightened economic measures prompted the heads of enterprises, who have not everywhere been up to their jobs, to carry out the most significant dictates of common sense.

Serious Problems

Keresztenyi: At TOT's 2 May session we heard some self-critical judgments about the situation in animal husbandry. It was also mentioned that in many places people have reached the upper limits of what they can tolerate. The strength of the cooperatives is also limited: In the future they will not be able to carry the burdens on their own. This is evidenced by the fact that in the first quarter of 1985, compared to the same period last year, the total number of pigs dropped by 55,000 and that of cattle in the cooperatives by 17,000.

Eleki: It is true that there are problems in the animal husbandry sector and that they must be solved in order to avoid surpassing the uppermost level of tolerance. This requires self-critical analysis. At the congress, a cooperative chairman from Zala County brought up the problem that cattle breeding is not profitable enough and this was the most disputed issue at the chairmen's session. There is no denying that some self-criticism: be it on sales of fodder, or on animal hygiene, or on the discipline of work and technology; all these are problematic areas. But the cooperatives require a service, based on mutual interests, that provides better artificial fodder and a more flexible and adequate genetic breed supply. There is a shortage of machinery needed for fodder cultivation and animal breeding, and the income is not high enough to allow renewal of the stables and plants. In addition to all this, out of the 40 billion forints worth of corn, because of its low price, 100,000 hectares less than necessary have been planted nationally and this is also very bad for animal breeding.

The Methods of Solving the Problems

Keresztenyi: In other words, without a bit of charitable state interference, or to put it in plain Hungarian, without state help, or even without raising producer prices, would the initial impetus die away?

Eleki: This is a simplified way of putting it, but, yes. The most important task now is to maintain the harmonious structure of cause and effect. To remove the obstacles to the high level of meat and milk production so that a high level of supply can be continuously maintained, can only be achieved if both the cooperatives and the government really want to achieve this. But let me immediately add, this mutual willingness does exist! The resolution of the party congress says that the policy of agriculture and the cooperatives will prevail, but one has to note certain differences in this sector: for example, that it is necessary to also have a more market-oriented approach in all the other fields affecting the market; to modify the production structure; to improve the efficiency of work in dealing with material and energy resources and with livestock; and to more purposefully utilize materials and energy, preferably at lower costs that will allow us to be more competitive on the foreign market.

But most of these activities are to be done by the cooperatives! There is a need for all kinds of food and all kinds of land, be it even of the smallest size, that can be cultivated using large-scale production methods. In the process of food production there is still a need for closer cooperation between agricultural producers and industrial manufacturers, cooperation based on mutual interests because the abolishment of the trusts did not bring about the desired results. These steps were good, but we must find further possibilities for integration.

Keresztenyi: What possibilities?

Eleki: There are already some practical examples, such as the agricultural corporations. Let me mention only one, the Hajdusag Agricultural Corporation, where you can find not only cooperatives, but also state agricultural plants and sugar, preserve, and fodder factories. We have to put our products on the shelves together with those of such state enterprises in which the above-mentioned integration is on a much higher level; in other words, we cannot sit idle and accept our backwardness. Well, based on the preconditions offered by the 13th party congress we can progress and most probably shall find other ways for cooperation between the various links in the chain of producers, manufacturers and marketing organizations.

Keresztenyi: At the congress, reserves were also mentioned. The first secretary of the Budapest party committee, for example, said that the real reserve that would be easy to mobilize in the Hungarian economy was the creative and working individual....

Eleki: I agree with this as regards the sector of cooperatives, too. Cooperatives will be playing an important role, mainly in improving quality, which is the most important aspect we have to watch in the next few years. The quantity of certain products is not to be neglected either. Let us think about vegetables and most fruits. However, without promoting the taking of risks and without compensating people accordingly for taking risks, we cannot go far; in general this is the case at present. But it has to be noted that even though effectiveness has been boosted by tightened measures over the past 2 years, relying on this alone, and taking this path alone, the cooperatives cannot fulfill their tasks. They can only keep up the supply for domestic and foreign demands if there is some kind of central assistance. I know that what I am saying is not new. While in the past the income of the secondary product cooperative branches could be allocated for the development of the basic production areas, there are far fewer possibilities for such action today, since the industrial activities, though not unimportant, are on a downward trend.

Keresztenyi: Does this mean that you will have problems of employment?

Eleki: Yes, especially in those areas where the land is bad, where there is little to make the people stay. It must be kept in mind that the law on cooperatives also stipulates a certain obligation to provide employment, and the vicious circle closes when the mentioned cooperatives are not able to fulfill an expanded reproduction.

Keresztenyi: The new generation cannot bring land to the cooperatives, but the modified cooperative decree of early 1983 makes provisions for establishing other forms of ties between the members and the cooperative, for example the issuing of shares. Where do the cooperatives stand on this issue?

Eleki: We are just starting to utilize this possibility, but there are 1,135 cooperatives that have included in their regulations one or even several kinds of development contributions by shares and bonds, and the sum of this contribution by the membership of cooperative enterprises amounted to 650 million forints last year.

With Direct Interest

Keresztesyi: Finally, what kind of final recommendation was given to the cooperative movement by the 13th party congress?

Eleki: Let's see: It can safely be said that the agricultural policy of the party that has remained basically uninterrupted since 1957 coincides with the well understood interests of the peasantry; thus, it is natural that the peasants will do everything to fulfill the congress resolutions. Maintenance of the food supply is guaranteed by further improvements in cooperative democracy, by operating and improving self-governing forums and last, but not least, by the well known diligence of the cooperative peasantry. The cooperatives will have a lot to do to dissolve the tensions of the past years that developed along with the positive aspects. It is clear that fulfillment of the party congress resolutions will assist in these tasks. The entire cooperative movement will adhere to these final recommendations and we are obliged to do so because of the demonstrated trust in us. We are willing, and hope that these recommendations will be accompanied by improvements in the technical and technological services supply, and by measures of foresight of economic policy, which also includes measures in the financial sector. All this has to be emphasized here -- by me, at the level representing the cooperative interests -- as well as elsewhere.

I hope that we will be able to give an account to the nation about the positive consequences of these coordinated actions next year at the fifth congress of the agricultural cooperatives.

NEMETH, LAZAR RECIEVE MARSHAL KULIKOV, OTHERS

LD231113 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and the delegates of the Military Council who have held talks in Budapest.

It was mutually reaffirmed at the meeting that at this time, unity among the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and increased cooperation are particularly important. The meeting was attended by Central Committee Secretary Istvan Horvath, and Colonel-General Istvan Olah, minister of defense.

FINNISH DEFENSE FORCES COMMANDER ENDS VISIT

LD162135 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 16 May 85

[Text] Budapest, 16 May (MTI) -- General Jaakko Valtanen, chief commander of the Finnish Defence Forces, who arrived in Hungary at the head of a delegation on Monday on the invitation of Lieutenant General Lajos Morocz, state secretary for the Ministry of Defence, concluded his official visit and left Hungary on Thursday. The high-ranking Finnish military delegation met Deputy Premier Lajos Czinege and Colonel General Isrvan Olah, defence minister.

POLITBURO REPORT PRESENTED TO 19TH CC PLENUM

AU170601 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 May 85 Supplement pp 1-8

[Politburo "materials" for the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "Problems of the Intelligentsia and Its Tasks in Poland's Socialist Development"]

[Text] Ever since the ninth party congress the Central Committee has continued to focus its attention on the most urgent tasks in implementing the party's programmatic line: the line of accord, struggle, and socialist reforms. As the country's situation has continued to stabilize, the Central Committee has addressed the most important issues of the country's development in close connection with the problems of the chief social communities. The Central Committee devoted its 16th plenum to the fundamental issue of strengthening the decisive role of the workers class in the country's life. At the 11th plenum, together with the ZSL Supreme Committee, it discussed the goals and principles of farm policy as part and parcel of the process by which the worker-peasant alliance can be strengthened. The 19th plenum will focus its attention on the third large group of society, the intelligentsia.

At its 16th plenum our party stressed that it is the workers class allied with the working peasantry and intelligentsia that continues to create socialism. As the people's leading force, the workers class bears the special responsibility for mobilizing all our society's forces for the sake of socialist building. The PZPR first secretary defined this responsibility in the following way at the 16th plenum: We do not strengthen the role of the workers class at the cost of other working people. Class selfishness is unknown to the conscientious worker. The workers party also takes care of the affairs of peasants and the intelligentsia.... The workers class and the people need educated men and women, various specialists, and creative minds. They have made an enormous contribution toward the construction of socialist Poland. We expect that, in line with their creative potential, they will help us to solve the country's great problems."

The basic purpose of the 19th plenum is to formulate an in-depth answer on how to implement this task in the best possible way.

The scale of our problems and the seriousness and dramatic nature of the challenge thrown to us by yet another phase of the scientific-technological revolution call for a comprehensive discussion of the role of the intelligentsia and its tasks in Poland's socialist development. Science and technology are becoming decisive factors in the development of production forces during the present phase of this revolution. Meeting this need creates a great opportunity for our development, otherwise we will have to face an ever increasing technological gap dividing us from other countries. The question involves what we should do to be more effective in overcoming the barriers and restrictions facing us and to more fully exploit our potential and opportunities in order to more rapidly embark upon the road of steady development by harnessing our entire intellectual potential, so that we are able to ensure prosperity for all people and a worthy place for Poland in the world.

Solving these large problems is impossible without the intelligentsia's active participation. This duty stems from its patriotic virtues, from its commitment to the struggle for social progress, and from its solicitude for the people's secure existence.

The consultations prior to the 19th plenum, of which there were 725, including 15 at the central level and 710 at the local level, were the point of departure of the discussion about these problems.

The extensive and militant participation of all the intelligentsia's professional communities in preparatory work has confirmed its readiness to join the common search

for a wise and effective answer to the basic questions of what favors and what hinders the implementation of the intelligentsia's tasks in socioeconomic development, of what to do to improve our people's working and living conditions with the help of the intelligentsia's militancy, and of what tasks should attract all our forces and resources in order to effectively overcome all the dangers we meet along the road to Poland's socialist development. The 19th plenum's definition of the lines of a policy that makes allowances for social needs and expectations and that maps out bold and feasible tasks should help us formulate answers to those questions.

Many intelligentsia communities continue to worry about their material difficulties in the form of lower real wages and the poor equipment used in their work. The consultations held prior to the 19th plenum only intensified the awareness of this state of affairs. However, we should bear in mind that every step forward in solving this problem calls for joint consultations on the rational exploitation of our resources and, above all, on rapid increases in these resources.

During these consultations the fine traditions of the intelligentsia's social activities and patriotic service for the people were recalled. These traditions have produced permanent examples of social and professional militancy. We should revive these traditions and adapt them to present experience and requirements. Efforts in this regard should be supported by the struggle against attitudes that hinder the social and professional militancy of intelligentsia communities, as has been the case, especially in the past few years. The distinctive marks of these attitudes are passivity, disappointment, buck passing, and isolation from public affairs. A sense of helplessness, which is the mark of some communities, is especially harmful.

The ever recurring attempts to loosen the intelligentsia's ties with the socialist road of Poland's development and to exclude it from the continued democratic changes in culture, science, and education are a crucial obstacle to efforts to promote the intelligentsia's social and professional militancy in line with the country's current needs. The purpose of this is to entangle the intelligentsia in domestic disputes and conflicts, which helps to waste its talents, resources, and skills. In this situation the struggle against antisocialist forces is a struggle for our most important national interests and for the country's assured development.

Rationalization of the structure of the intelligentsia's employment in line with the needs of enterprises so that one's qualifications suit one's work is an urgent task.

The consultative meetings have produced rich materials and have made our problems and tasks more transparent, so that all the people concerned have a better view of them. We are still without a complete and satisfactory answer to the question of how these problems and tasks should be solved, and how to eliminate the barriers that continue to hinder the implementation of our appointed goals. The 19th plenum debates and decisions will help us to formulate such an answer if the awareness of our needs is closely conditioned by a realistic appraisal of our potentials and by a constructive attitude toward the policy of accord.

The point is that we are able not only to maintain the atmosphere of creative and constructive discussions in the intelligentsia's industrial, rural, cultural, scientific, and educational communities, but also to ensure that this atmosphere is expressed in the practical activities of these communities.

The party addresses this report on the problems and tasks facing us at the present stage of Poland's socialist development to the entire intelligentsia. This addressee is a massive and differentiated body, but we need all its professional components in the implementation of the tasks facing our country. Our present top tasks are to modernize the economy and to increase its effectiveness under the conditions of the

developing scientific-technological revolution. Although they are the domain of the technical intelligentsia, they must be supported by the work of the scientific community, by the most extensive system of education, and by society's entire spiritual life developed by culture and art. Nor must we fail to appreciate the effects of the struggle against Poland in this regard. This calls for great militancy of all sections of the intelligentsia, especially those working in the sector of upbringing.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo submits the materials that deal with the main problems and tasks of the basic communities of the intelligentsia. The views that people concerned will air with regard to our analysis of the situation of those communities will enrich the achievements of the 19th plenum and will make it easier for the intelligentsia to rally round the country's most important development needs and to draw up an action program with regard to solving the immediate and long-term problems of the intelligentsia.

1. Workers in Science, Universities, and Education

In the present world, science and technology have become factors that are of decisive importance in the development of production forces. There is a growing avalanche of scientific achievements, and their application crucially changes production technologies and the development of civilization and, to a great extent, determines the position of countries and nations in the world.

Socialism is the first system in the history of mankind that is being created in a conscious manner in line with the objective laws of development. From its very inception, the communist and workers movement has based itself on the foundations of science and has recognized the creators of science as its natural allies in the task of changing the world, in the struggle for social progress, and in the efforts to construct socialism.

In the 40 years of People's Poland we have created, almost from scratch, the present personnel, material, and institutional potential of Polish science and the research-development base of the national economy. Some 238,000 workers, including 65,500 scientific workers and 49,000 engineering and technical workers with higher education (engineers, technologists, designers, and so on) were employed on scientific research and on the development of technology in 1984. In the sector of science we have 11,700 professors and lecturers, as well as some 30,000 scientific workers with doctors' degrees. These highly skilled cadres are employed in 89 university-type schools, 73 research units of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 122 scientific research units run by ministries, 141 research-development units and central laboratories, and 763 development units run by production enterprises.

The intellectuals who have been trained in the past 40 years account for 95 percent of all intellectuals. In People's Poland many new scientific centers have been established and they have enriched the achievements of Polish science. In some areas our country occupies an important place in world science.

The following achievements should be stressed in particular:

-- New large industrial regions have been set in areas in which mineral deposits were discovered and exploited: copper, sulfur, and bituminous coal in the Lublin Basin; lignite in Turoszow, Belchatow, and Konin; and zinc, lead, salt, and other minerals in other areas.

-- The biological and agricultural sciences have produced many new and much more prolific varieties of plants and breeding animals and have ensured a tremendous development of orchards.

-- Achievements in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and technology have created conditions for devising and modernizing many production technologies and techniques in industry, construction, transportation, and communications. These achievements have ensured an important standing of Poland in the world with regard to some branches of the machine-building and mining industries.

In the past few years our country has come to face a particularly difficult task of overcoming the internal and external barriers to development. The world continues to rapidly forge ahead, but we have relaxed our pace. We must meet the present world's economic, technological, and scientific challenge. We have come to be faced by manpower shortage and by the need to greatly boost productivity and to solve ecological, supply, energy, and investment problems. Creative participation in the task to overcome these barriers and to launch Poland upon the road of steady and socialist social and economic development is the most important patriotic and vocational mission of the intelligentsia.

Science will fulfill the expectations placed in it, if it is properly managed and harmoniously developed. We continue to pay special attention to basic research and to development of the technical base for experimental research. We seek to increase the effectiveness of scientific policy, to suitably increase funds for science develop its contacts with world science, and, in particular, to promote cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The choice of the strategic lines on which our scientific and scientific-technological potential will be focused is now the most important task.

The present state of the efforts to devise the lines of scientific and technological development in 1986-90, the course of discussions prior to the 19th plenum, and the conclusions of the National Conference of Scientists, Technicians, and Representatives of Industry, indicate that it is necessary to concentrate our research potential primarily on the following problems:

-- the best possible exploitation of the economy's production assets, improvements in labor productivity and the mechanisms of economic reform, and raising the standards and quality of the scientific research that is the basis of the specialized economic areas in our country;

-- increasing the share of industrial, construction, and farming technologies requiring low inputs of power;

-- creating the necessary personnel, scientific-technological, and production conditions for gradually introducing computers, microelectronics, biotechnology, comprehensive automation of production processes, and so on;

-- developing nuclear energy.

As to the system of the central research-development programs, we expect to:

-- devise some scores of research-development programs for 1986-90 designed to solve the most important long-term development problems of the national economy;

-- devise a central program for basic research;

-- issue government orders with a view to modernizing especially important production technologies.

In order to ensure the implementation of these strategic functions of science and scientific-technological progress in favor of the economy, we will operate the Central Research Fund in the coming 5-year period and will set up a central fund to increase the practical effectiveness of new technologies. A central convertible currency reserve will also be set up.

While improving the system by which science is managed and technology developed, we will continue to reconstruct the central scientific research and development programs, especially their links with the country's socioeconomic program for the coming years. The recently established Committee for Science and Technological Progress, attached to the Council of Ministers, and the Office for Scientific-Technological Progress and New Technologies should create much better material and organizational conditions for significant progress in the social and economic effectiveness of scientific research. They should do this in close cooperation with the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the economic ministries, and scientific centers.

The following decisions and activities are most necessary in the coming years:

-- It is necessary to assign to scientific research and technological development at least 2 percent of the national income in 1985 and at least 3 percent in 1990. During the discussions prior to the 19th plenum many scientific communities pointed out that this share should amount to over 3.5 percent. Our ability to do this will depend to a great extent on the impact of science and scientific-technological progress on increases in the national income.

-- It is necessary to raise, as soon as possible, the material status of scientists and technologists in line with their social and economic functions and to devise a new wage system for scientific workers and for workers in the scientific-technological base. The first stage of the wage settlement should be implemented this year.

-- Polish scientists must receive better and more modern research and scientific equipment, computers, experimental equipment, scientific literature, and printing equipment, especially in those sectors in which we will concentrate the research potential.

It is necessary to improve the system of training and promoting scientific workers. The present state of affairs shows that the professional careers of scientific workers are inadequately related to the country's socioeconomic needs, that there is no movement of prominent technologists and inventors to scientific institutions and of scientific workers to production enterprises, and that most scientific workers in universities and the Polish Academy of Sciences have inadequate contacts with production plants.

The role of the social sciences and arts continues to increase. Based on the theoretical-methodological principles of Marxism-Leninism, these sciences and arts should strengthen their practical functions, enrich political science and culture, and increase their impact on changes in social awareness. It is necessary to devise and improve the mechanisms that make it possible to effectively apply the results of research in the practice of life in society.

The National Conference of Social Sciences in December 1984 stressed the main lines of research in this regard on the basis of the ninth party congress resolutions. The social science communities also continue to address these issues in anticipation of the Third Congress of Polish Sciences.

We hope that, as a result of extensive discussions, this congress will:

-- critically evaluate the state of our science and technology, define their tasks in solving the economic and social problems of Poland's developments, and formulate proposals for scientific-technological policy in the coming years;

-- define the areas of science and technology that may and should be our specialties;

-- detail tasks for the individual communities of the scientific and scientific-technological intelligentsia, tasks resulting from the program for socialist Poland's developments;

-- answer the question of what legislative and organizational changes will ensure conditions for a more rapid development and advancement of young scientific and scientific-technological personnel.

Implementing the tasks now facing Polish sciences calls for decisive efforts to overcome the ideological and moral ravages among some scientific workers as a result of the events in 1980-81. This is one of the most important tasks of the managements of scientific institutions and of the primary party organizations operating in them.

In Poland there are 89 state universities situated in 24 academic centers. They have 19 branches and departments in other places, 12 units in still other places, and 163 consultation centres. They now cater to almost 370,000 students pursuing 130 lines of study. Our universities employ 56,000 academic instructors, including 8,500 professors and lecturers.

The number of first-year students has decreased in the past few years. In 1980 some 60,000 persons were admitted to full-time studies and in 1984 some 50,400 were admitted. This is because our economy has relatively large numbers of university graduates, there are difficulties in finding the right jobs for certain specialists, young people's aspirations have changed, and the growth of the population has temporarily slowed down. We are disturbed by the decreasing social interest in higher study. This phenomenon should be analyzed in depth, and certain decisions should be made in this connection by state bodies. The solution of these problems must go hand in hand with efforts to increase the share of worker and peasant students in university admissions.

As soon as a larger number of young people reach student age, the number of admissions to first-year studies should be increased.

In the 40 years of People's Poland, over 1,500,000 men and women have graduated from our universities. It is worth recalling that, in the best event, some 6,000 men and women would graduate from universities in pre-war Poland. At present our universities grant some 63,500 graduation certificates a year, including 43,000 certificates for full-time studies. Our universities grant 89 percent of all doctoral degrees and 86 percent of all professorial degrees. The school system has not always kept abreast of changes in the structure of education, of the requirements of the economy resulting from a rapid development of technology, and of changing production technologies. Serious disproportions in the regional deployment of personnel have also occurred. A complicated socioeconomic situation has occurred in the academic community. Some students and scientific workers continue to succumb to the influence of antisocialist forces. The socialist youth unions account for just over 20 percent of all students, and the development of the student scientific movement is slow. We are aware that some scientific workers are insufficiently active in implementing the process of the socialist upbringing of students. Party organizations in universities and academic authorities and instructors must always be mindful of preventing these disturbing phenomena. In the past few months comprehensive activities have been launched to stem these unfavorable tendencies, but not all of them have proved to be effective.

In 1983 we introduced a skeleton program for upbringing in universities, but its implementation cannot be evaluated as everywhere positive.

In the past few years the political situation in this community has been marked by considerable tension, conflicts, and political struggles. It has been marked by the disarray of ideological and political attitudes, which was caused by a breakdown of the specific systems of values. Open actions against the state authorities have also taken place. In many universities this situation has brought about a lowering of discipline and the slowing down of the development rate of scientific personnel. Definite moral losses have occurred and the socialist nature of the upbringing of new generations of the intelligentsia has been weakened.

It is with concern that we note obvious examples of the irregular implementation of personnel policy in some universities as a result of activities based on antisocialist motivation.

The complete evaluation of the situation in universities, including positive phenomena and unsolved problems, makes it imperative for us to strengthen in the immediate future the state's influence on performance of higher education. We must strengthen the links between the central authorities, on the one hand, and the universities and their communities, on the other; we must increase the extent of coordination among individual sectors of higher education and adapt the basic laws, especially the law on higher education, to development needs and to past experience.

The following action will be taken in the immediate future in order to improve higher education and the entire sphere of science:

- study plans and programs will be modernized;
- long-term programs for the development of higher education up to the year 2000 and plans for the development of individual universities will be drawn up;
- the requirements of the economy and national culture for university graduates will be reviewed;
- the programs for production of scientific research equipment and teaching aids will be developed;
- the access of universities to world scientific literature and periodicals will be improved;
- the state of instruction in the individual lines of study and the plan for activities to reinforce weaker lines of studies with instructors will be reviewed; the personnel policy in scientific centers must receive special attention from the state;
- the plan for a network of scientific periodicals to meet the needs of universities and to supply them with the necessary textbooks and aids will be drawn up; printing facilities in universities will be more effectively exploited for this purpose.

The achievements of education in the 40 years of People's Poland are unshakable. All young people have been enabled to attend seven-grade and then eight-grade schools. Some 97 percent of primary school leavers continue studies in various types of further education schools.

The teachers in primary, vocational, and secondary schools are an important community of the Polish intelligentsia. There are over 527,000 of them and their educational standards differ. In 1984 some 294,000 of 55.7 percent of them had higher education, some 131,000 of them had teacher's training, and some 102,000 of them secondary

education. Most of these teachers, some 300,000 of them, work in primary schools; 22,000 of them in general secondary schools; 56,000 in secondary vocational schools; and over 27,000 in other basic schools.

Legal and material improvements effected in the past few years have helped to strengthen the social status of the teaching profession. The process of the practical correctness of these improvements continues.

The system of teacher training created in the seventies does not meet the need for teachers in general education. This need continues to increase as shown by high demographics. These difficulties have been boosted by a considerable decrease in teachers' instruction tasks and by their higher retirement rate.

In their discussions prior to the 19th plenum, teachers often criticized the performance of the education administration, especially the teaching plans and programs; the shortage of textbooks, maps, and other teaching aids; the methods of training, further training, and improving teachers; the withering away of educational activities, particularly extracurricular activities; and the formal approach to the review and evaluation of personnel. Aside from the difficulties of school premises, housing, and personnel, those were the problems most frequently brought up by teachers.

The government has adopted a multiyear program to meet education's most necessary needs for school premises. The program has gained extensive social support, including the proposal for national assistance to help schools, put forward by the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON].

The adopted functions of the socialist schools have not always been consistently implemented in the past 40 years. The system of assistance to teachers in their work to instruct and educate pupils; the system of cooperation with parents, enterprises, and the local community; the system of organizing extracurricular functions; and the system of transporting pupils to schools and feeding them does not function properly. Education through work and teaching, and upbringing through acquaintance with technology have been neglected. Some representatives of the clergy continue to disregard the lay nature of the Polish school.

The events of 1980-81 did not spare our education, which was subjected to brutal and unprecedented pressure from the extremist forces. Most teachers preserve their sense of responsibility for the good of children and for the school's educational duties. Nevertheless, schools were subjected to actions whose aim was to effect permanent political and ideological divisions among teachers and to undermine the principles of socialist upbringing and the lay nature of the school.

The losses suffered by education because of the anarchy in school life in 1980-81 are still extensive. Some teachers, especially those in general education lyceums, continue to shrink from the task of the young people's upbringing and wait for something to turn up. In this connection all party organizations and cells in schools should urgently intensify political work among nonparty teachers. School headmasters and primary party organizations should pay special attention to young teachers and teachers just beginning their work, especially those who are unqualified. The educational administration must be much more effective in implementing the socialist school's programmatic goals.

Implementing the decisions of the Teacher's Charter, the Ministry of Instruction and Upbringing and the Polish Teachers' Union should coordinate and unambiguously formulate the ideomoral and political duties of teachers in the socialist state and define the ideomoral, professional, and political criteria used in evaluating teachers.

The problems of national education will be examined by one of the 1985 Central Committee plenums, which will determine the main lines of the development of this education.

2. Engineering, Technical, and Economic Workers

The fact that our engineers and technicians determine the promotion of scientific-technological progress, which is the basic factor in the Polish economy's further development, primarily circumscribes the present, long-term role of the technical intelligentsia in our country's life. The engineering-technical cadre organizes production processes, helps foster the people's technical knowledge and culture, and constitutes a crucial factor in influencing people-to-people relations, attitudes, views, and social moods in the communities of the workers class in which this cadre works. This determines the special position of the technical intelligentsia in our economic and political life, especially since party members account for some 30 percent of this cadre.

Immediately after the war there were in Poland some 7,500 engineers, but today over 350,000 work in our socialized economy and are assisted by almost 1 million technicians. Most engineers and technicians are employed by industry, construction, science, and research. Almost one-third of our engineers work in Warsaw and Katowice Voivodships, which are our largest economic centers.

There are over 112,000 economists with university education in our country, and the importance of their work continues to increase as the economic reform continues to be implemented. In particular, the effectiveness of performance in enterprises will depend on the knowledge of the economists and on their skill to exploit their qualifications. The closer the cooperation between the engineering-technical cadre and the economists, the better the results that will be produced. The economists' increasingly extensive knowledge of the problems of technological progress and the engineers' increasingly better orientation in the field of economy should be the basis of this cooperation.

During the post-war period the technical intelligentsia actively participated in our unprecedented efforts to rebuild the country from war ravages and to expand our economic potential. That these efforts have been successful is attested to by the fact that during the years of the Polish economy's very intensive development over 90 percent of the products were based on Polish designs and technological solutions. However, at present the considerable potential of our engineering-technical and economic cadres is being inadequately exploited. Successes go hand in hand with negative features such as employment of engineers as clerks, the excessive time taken to produce new designs and technologies in industry, the low rate of modifying production, the low effectiveness of research work, and the enterprises' inadequate interest in the practical utilization of technological and organizational innovations.

In 1980 the results of new production lines such as machines, equipment, and products accounted for 10.1 percent of the entire gross value of production, but in 1982 they accounted for 1.2 percent and in 1983 for 1.6 percent. In 1980 the number of research projects for practical implementation amounted to 11,300, in 1982 to 5,900, and in 1983 to 6,700. In 1980-83 the number of inventions, designs, and rationalizing measures implemented by the national economy decreased by 60 percent. However, during the years in which the Western countries have applied sanctions against our economy, our engineers and technicians have been able to win the struggle to maintain the production of many articles by using Polish instead of imported materials and elements.

Enterprises' outlays on technological progress continue to decrease. They decreased from 223.6 billion in 1982 to 215 billion in 1983. That enterprises are insufficiently interested in the practical utilization of technological innovations is also attested to by the low expenditures from the enterprise technological progress funds. Present regulations hinder the exploitation of these funds.

In 1980-83 the manpower in the development units of enterprises decreased 32 percent, which means that many enterprises do not pay the necessary attention to development

units, that is, for example, to designs, technological and production bureaus, as well as research laboratories, which is attested to by their lower manpower or even by their liquidation.

Positive trends in the development of inventions and rationalization have begun to assert themselves since 1983, when the number of domestic inventions increased 7.4 percent and of designs by 14 percent. Initial estimates show that in 1984 the number of inventions increased 18 percent, of implemented designs by almost 11 percent, and the economic effects from these inventions and designs by over 45 percent. However, the number of designs is still too low in relation to the creative potential of our scientists, engineers, and technicians.

So far we have been unable to devise, under the conditions of our economic imbalance, mechanisms that can adequately stimulate innovating processes and create demand for technological progress. The result of this is the absence of proper cooperation between the scientific research base and production enterprises. Enterprise managements also continue to inadequately exploit the potential of their own technical cadre. Eager to achieving immediate results, they do not always exploit the means they have to promote research and to implement its results in production. This is a shortsighted policy with a negative impact on the country's economic development.

As the consultations prior to the 19th plenum have demonstrated, this state of affairs is responsible for the fact that the technical intelligentsia continues to feel that its knowledge, qualifications, and opportunities for effective action in solving technical-economic and organizational problems are being neglected. In particular, young engineers and technicians are pessimistic about their opportunities for social and professional advancement and are frustrated and passive as a result.

The consultations have demonstrated many difficulties and determining factors in the exploitation of the potential and aspirations of engineers, economists, and technicians. These difficulties include primarily a frequent absence of specific tasks and technical, organizational, and economic goals, for the solution of which the engineers, technicians, and economists are eager; a failure to adapt the training of engineers to the demands of economic practice; the absence of concern to facilitate graduates' social and professional adaptation; restricted opportunities to supplement one's knowledge in the field of the most recent scientific-technological achievements; and shortcomings in technological equipment used by engineers and researchers. During the consultations it was strongly stressed that wage incentives and the system of performance evaluation, which should give moral and material satisfaction to engineers for their effective work, are inadequate. At many consultative meetings suggestions were made that it is necessary to expand the system of promotion of cadres that distinguish themselves in militancy, skills, and creative achievements.

The results of the consultations make it clear that the commitment of the engineering-technical cadre to the implementation of economic tasks, especially to the task of modernizing production, varies with the technical-economic and social situation in enterprises. This cadre is to a rather general extent ready to do work in the field of technology, but it waits for an initiative from outside in this regard.

In the light of the present restrictions on development, the country's economic growth can follow only on the basis of an intensive implementation of technological progress. This means that our large numbers of skilled engineers and technicians are our ace. That is why it is impossible to regard as correct the statement that there are too many engineers and technicians. Under the conditions of a rapid development of production technologies and of high quality products in the developed countries, the demand for engineers will increase rapidly. Our task is to correctly exploit the large engineering potential we have.

The national conference of scientists, technologists, inventors, rationalizers, and representatives of economic life took place on 15 and 16 March 1985. This conference discussed extensively a number of problems that require solutions and that determine the intensification of implementing scientific-technological progress in economic practice. These problems apply to systems-type solutions, organizational mechanisms, and material and psychological factors connected with the professional militancy of scientists, engineers, and economists. The results of this conference will be exploited by the Committee for Science and Technological Progress in developing scientific-technological policy and in improving the links between science and technology, on the one hand, and economic practice, on the other.

The elements of the social vocational and self-government movement, and social and vocational organizations such as the Federation of Scientific-Technical Associations, the Supreme Technical Organization, the Polish Economic Society, and the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration should be very militant in creating the social support for the state's policy in the field of scientific-technological, organizational, and economic progress.

Scientific-technological progress must become a crucial striving force of the country's development. That is why we must make intensive efforts to create more effective mechanisms in order to develop conditions for the creative technical and organizational militancy of scientists, engineering designers, technologists, rationalizers of production, economists, master foremen, and the entire technical supervisory staff. These mechanisms should ensure one's moral and material satisfaction in order to stimulate one's efforts to achieve results that meet economic and social interests.

Within the economic reform we should resolutely resort to economic-fiscal instruments and tools that will make it necessary for enterprises and the research-development base to launch innovation efforts. We must also create systems-type conditions to expand the cooperative and supply links of those enterprises and scientific research centers that implement in practice research projects or produce new articles. We should expect the systems-type solutions to these problems to be also discussed at the national party-economic conference, which will soon be held in line with the resolution of the 18th Central Committee Plenum.

Efforts to create conditions that are favorable to the flow of personnel between schools and educational establishments, on the one hand, and economic practice, on the other, are a crucial factor in fostering commitment to innovation. This should be made easier by adapting the programs for cadre training to the economy's technological and economic requirements and by raising the technical and technological standards of new solutions.

All enterprises should draft and update as necessary the plans for developing technology, for modernizing and renewing the assortment of products, for introducing productive automated technologies that consume low amounts of materials and energy, and for rationally exploiting and renewing the production assets in possession. These plans should be based on realistic appraisals of one's potential in personnel and equipment. It is necessary to evaluate the employment of factory personnel so that they can be committed to solving crucial tasks in the field of technology, economics, the organization of production processes, and the improved exploitation of machines and equipment.

For enterprises engaged in production that requires constant modernization of products and technological processes, it is necessary to ensure that their own scientific-research and design base continues to develop at all times with regard to personnel and equipment. Enterprise managements should attract talented designers and technologists and organize teams whose unceasing task is to improve and raise the standards of production techniques and technologies.

The implementation of specific tasks should be improved with the help of the innovation fund, contract prizes, competitions, the statutory activities of the scientific-technological clubs and the factory clubs of technology and rationalization, the competition among young masters of technology, and youth innovation teams.

The material preferences for engineers, technicians, rationalizers, inventors, and all those workers who make every effort to modernize production processes, improve the quality of products, implement scientific-technological and organizational innovations, and make work more humane, must be decidedly expanded in the wage systems of the economic units. The present partial system of granting bonuses for engineers, technicians, and economists for activities to boost exports should be introduced everywhere.

Every enterprise and research unit should develop and implement programs for the social and professional adaptation and development of young engineers and economists. Such programs should enable them to study production processes during their initial employment and enjoy working and wage conditions that can stimulate their job militancy.

Engineers and economists are in the majority in the managing cadres in enterprises and bear the main burden of responsibility for the effective management of economic institutions and units, for the effective exploitation of the production potential, and for the effective management of personnel.

Managers and managing cadres should be able to enjoy necessary conditions, including wage conditions, under which they can carry out their duties. Wages paid to managers at all levels should be consistent with their role in production enterprises and should be related to the results of their performance. At the same time, the vocational and moral requirements placed on managers should be tightened.

3. Workers in Culture and Art

Artists and workers of cultural-educational institutions create new values of national culture, propagate its achievements, strengthen the links between our culture and world culture and combine our heritage with the development of national culture and the struggle for a new, socialist form of social life.

This special role of creative communities increases in periods when technological and civilizing development is accelerated because a positive transformation of the awareness of the masses is a condition for preparing man for new vocational and social roles.

The artistic communities that suffered most through the war have not only been rebuilt, but even greatly expanded in People's Poland. These communities now number about 45,000 persons. The plastic arts community numbers 20,000 persons, the musical community numbers 14,000 persons, the literary community numbers 4,200 persons (prose writers, poets, playwrights, movie script writers, essayists, critics, and translators), the theatrical community numbers 4,000 persons, the movie community numbers 1,800 persons, the photographic art community numbers 700 persons, and the community of composers numbers 500 persons. The intelligentsia working in the cultural institutions, which numbers some 70,000 persons, has direct links with these communities.

The numerical increase in artistic communities went hand in hand with the establishment of new centers of cultural life. The idea that the world of science, literature, and culture must be comprehensively supported by the state in order to develop has been implemented in line with the programmatic declaration issued by the Polish Workers Party in November 1943.

In the fifties and sixties the expansion of the network of schools, publishing agencies, periodicals, theaters, philharmonic orchestras, libraries, and houses of culture

created profound changes in the working people's cultural needs and habits. The creative intelligentsia became aware of the new role of art in the life of workers and rural areas and, consequently, of the artists' increased responsibility for the social effects of their creative work. Thanks to the massive propagation of books, radio, and television, the old "Sunday" contacts with art were at that time replaced by everyday contacts. Art invaded industrial design and created aesthetic values in products for everyday use.

Throughout the whole duration of People's Poland the creative intelligentsia, architects, painters, sculptors, experts in the history of art, city planners, and conservationists have participated in reconstructing the monuments of our national culture and have extended their social functions.

This means that at every stage of the history of People's Poland the fundamental sections of the creative intelligentsia have promoted socialist culture, have defended the new values of this culture, have propagated it abroad, and have participated in the confrontation with ideological streams that are alien to socialism.

During the period of an open counterrevolutionary threat the basic sections of our creative intelligentsia and workers in the artistic, cultural, and educational institutions, and in the cultural administration supported the ninth party congress program and committed themselves to implementing its line of socialist reforms, accord, and struggle.

In the past few years cultural communities have become a special target for organized penetration and ideological pressure from the enemies of socialism. Subversive activities, mainly by foreign centers, have continued for years. After August 1980 the political and ideological struggle waged in the area of culture has intensified with unusual force. Efforts have been made to exploit the public role of representatives of the creative communities in the political struggle and to create in this way an area of particularly strong propaganda of antisocialist ideas. In addition, the extremists have sought to gain the upper hand over the world of culture and art and to control the organization and financing of cultural activities. During our crisis the political opposition has become dominant in the managements of most unions and associations. Phenomena attesting to political recklessness have continued to increase.

At that time the party's basic efforts were devoted to the task of introducing political order into the activities of creative associations in line with their statutory regulations. After many months of uselessly searching for solutions that would enable us to preserve the achievement of creative associations in the past 40 years, it was necessary to apply administrative sanctions against some of them. As a result, and primarily thanks to the initiative and militant attitude of the creative persons themselves, conditions have been created for the organization of new associations of writers, actors, sculptors, and painters and for the internal reconstruction of such creative associations as the SFP [expansion unidentified], the Association of Polish Musicians, and the Union of Polish Composers.

Conditions have been restored under which creative associations committed themselves to the policy of socialist renewal and accord. The organizational development and effective programmatic activity of creative associations have confirmed the correctness of the line adopted by the party and the state. These associations continue to gain increasing approval in their communities because they address the basic problems of conditions under which artistic professions are performed and protected. They have also resumed cooperation with fraternal creative associations in the socialist countries. Younger artists find their place in the creative associations, which have now been joined by narrow groups of creative people. The development and consolidation of cooperation helps to curtail the effectiveness of opposition activities and reject antisocialist slogans such as "Internal boycott" or "Let literature emigrate."

The effectiveness of state patronage over culture and art is limited because of many factors. The results of the economic crisis are responsible for a painful deterioration of the material conditions and performance of creative people. Increased costs of materials and equipment necessary for creativework continue to hinder the development of some sectors of art, especially sculpture and painting. Inflation continues to greatly handicap our writers. A serious crisis in the industries that produce cultural assets and that act as intermediaries between artists and the market -- these are the printing, paper, film, and phonographic industries -- continues to immobilize a large creative potential and expose some active artists to material troubles.

In addition, the situation continues to be complicated by the activity of our opponents. The calculated activity of Western subversive centers constitutes a large destructive ideopolitical and organizational force. The West's activities in this regard are considerable. They are financed mainly by the United States and are based on Polish emigrants and on the few groups of militants of the so-called opposition in Poland. The organizational performance and patronage of the Catholic Church does not help to curb these highly harmful attempts.

Consultations in the communities of creative people and cultural workers prior to the 19th plenum demonstrated that it is necessary to ensure that the implementation of the ninth party resolutions on culture should be more effective. In particular, this applies to:

- a better approach of modern art to the needs and aspiration of the working communities;

- planned efforts to eliminate disproportions in the development of the infrastructure of cultural life -- disproportions between the main large-scale conurbations and the rest of the country;

- effective and better programmed training and further training of cultural cadres: consultations indicated that cadre shortages and lack of adequate material incentives to attract young people to work in cultural units in medium- and small-sized towns, and especially in villages, are some of the main obstacles to a rapid implementation of the ninth congress resolutions on the development of culture countrywide;

- increased scope of state patronage over creative people and improved social conditions for creative communities and workers in artistic and cultural-educational institutions: the consultations stressed that the deterioration in the material conditions of creative communities and material shortcomings make some of these communities susceptible to activities that are detrimental to the policy of accord.

The consultations confirmed that it is necessary to strictly observe the decisions made by the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers with regard to industries that work for culture. This applies to the programs for developing the printing industry in 1986-90, the program for modernizing measures in the paper industry in 1983-87, and the proposals concerning the solution of technical and production problems of the cinema industry, adopted by the Central Committee Cultural Commission in January 1985. It is also necessary to accelerate work on the program for developing the phonographic industry (including videocassettes) -- this program has still not been drawn up -- and to speed up the implementation of government decisions on development of the music industry.

The living conditions of the creative communities began to deteriorate at the beginning of the eighties. The present fragmentary attempts to improve these conditions lag behind other groups of professions and cannot be regarded as substitutes for systems-type solutions. The concern for the material situation of creative people is also concern for the fate of Polish culture and for the resources to be used to back and propagate new works of art.

In this connection it is urgently necessary to:

- create in all professional communities a system of wages and payments encouraging creative work, with this system being periodically reviewed to suit changes in the average worker's wages;
- oblige the minister of finances and the minister of culture and art to analyze in detail all fiscal regulations that are unfavorable to creative people in comparison with other professions, regulations concerning taxation on prizes, countervailing taxation, and transfers of foreign payments;
- modify the law on pensions for artists and their relatives and the regulations connected with this law in line with the proposals submitted in agreement with the communities of creative people;
- ensure technical-material resources necessary for creative work, especially painting, sculpture, photography, moviemaking, music, and theater;
- improve the performance of artistic institutions that tour our country and oblige local authorities to greatly improve the working conditions of these institutions on tours;
- Improve the working and wage conditions of technicians in artistic institutions and cinematography;
- standardize the regulations governing the design, planning, and construction of creative workshops, and the allocation of and rents for these workshops, and incorporate these regulations into legal acts such as the laws on construction, buildings, and cooperatives.
- oblige the Committee for Radio and Television to verify the principles of the policy of payments for creative people.

The implementation of these directive decisions will involve costs, the burden of which should be borne by the Cultural Development Fund, the state budget, and the individual enterprises. Their successful implementation should be backed by the active work of creative communities.

We must continue to more effectively adapt to current needs our efforts to sort out the basic area of culture, that is, the entire programmatic field. The national conferences devoted to evaluating the 40-year achievements in the individual areas of artistic creative work have played an effective intellectual and ideological role in this regard. They were organized by the Central Committee Culture Department. This kind of party activity in creative communities should become a dominant activity in the future. Introducing this theme into creative associations and unions should help stimulate and invigorate their performance. In line with the statutory tasks, they continue to fight to improve the social and professional situation and working conditions of creative people. This is an important group of problems, directly related to the deterioration in creative people's living conditions as a result, among other things, of a considerable drop in the orders placed with them by production enterprises and other bodies interested in cultural assets and services. However, this should not obscure those tasks of creative associations and unions that apply to the worth of creative works, their circulation among people, and the linkage between artistic creative work and the consequences of modern technical civilization.

Creative people who are party members have a special role to play in meeting these needs. A creative person who is a party member should accept -- in full responsibility and awareness -- the ideological and political consequences of his union with the party

and regard them as directives for his social activities. Party literary and artistic criticism has a special role to play. Its intellectual level, ideological maturity, and social sensitivity determine the party's true impact on creative work and the country's cultural life.

On the basis of this description of the situation of creative communities and of the 40-year old cultural and artistic achievements, and as a result of appropriate actions, it will be possible to permanently improve the political climate in these communities and launch a new and rich period of the development of national culture in line with the basic interests and goals of our socialist fatherland. Only on this road is it possible to recover for our culture and art the traditionally high international position, which has been somewhat weakened in the past few years.

4. The Journalist Community

The mass media performs an exceedingly important function in a socialist society. They are a basic tool of social communication, exert considerable influence on the shaping of citizens' attitudes and views, serve to disseminate cultural values, and participate in the organization of social life. In connection with this, journalists are subject to particular requirements: broad knowledge, a feeling of citizens responsibility, high ethics, industriousness, and boldness.

Right now, the journalist community numbers about 9,000 people employed in newspapers, agencies, radio, and television. Over 80 percent of the journalists possess further education. Most of them have completed studies in the arts, but many of them have also completed technical, economic, agricultural, and other studies. Most journalists are employed by editorial staffs affiliated in the Prasa-Książka-Ruch Workers Publishing Cooperative (over 5,100), and by the Radio and Television Committee (over 1,700).

Almost 4 years have elapsed since the Ninth PZPR Congress. Together with the whole of society, the journalist community has traveled along a difficult and complicated road. As a result of the profound reevaluations that have taken place in this community, the mass media are becoming, in accordance with the spirit of the ninth congress, energetic stimuli for socialist renewal reforms. The press is more open today; there is more discussion on the affairs of Poles in it, more criticism, more militancy concerning the struggle against evil, and more information about the work of the government and state bodies. But at the same time, there is also more principled, political responsibility and thinking in terms of the state and nation.

After 1980, the journalist community was subject to enormous pressure from political opponents. Many journalists submitted to this pressure. Signs of ideological vacillation and political disorientation emerged in a part of the community. The process of restoring the party's leading role among the mass media and perpetuating their ideological unanimity was commenced by a review and check of journalist cadres, carried out after the introduction of martial law. Journalists occupying a hostile position toward socialism and people with politically unstable attitudes were removed from employment in party mass media.

In March 1982, in place of the dissolved Association of Polish Journalists, the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic [SD PRL] was formed, serving to restore a socialist countenance to journalism. Right now, over 75 percent of the journalist community belongs to the SD PRL. The boycott of this organization announced by political opponents did not encounter support among journalists. Among its goals, the SD PRL has recognized activity for the sake of national accord and the development of socialist democracy, the joint creation of political culture based on the Polish *raison d'etat*, work to increase the prestige and efficiency of state authorities, and self-government by citizens.

Polish journalists and their organization are performing to an increasingly better degree their tasks connected with mirroring and shaping public opinion, and establishing ties between citizens and bodies of authority. The characteristic openness and principledness of our work means that society's confidence in it is rising slowly but surely. This is evidenced by the results of opinion polls.

The firm majority of the journalist community have supported the activity of the PRON and of the reborn trade unions, are actively defending Polish *raison d'etat*, struggling against domestic opponents and centers of political subversion, and unmasking the anti-peace and anti-Polish political goals of the United States and its allies.

Also important is the voice of journalists in the struggle for peace and disarmament. This struggle is well served by the dialogue conducted by Polish journalists with foreign journalists, one example of which was the "Jablonna V" seminar.

The current pattern of information by the mass media, established on the basis of political principles and recognizing far-reaching differences in the way information is presented but also excluding the presentation of views which clash with the constitutional principles of the PPR, is generally accepted.

The party attaches great importance to the functioning of the mass media. One important legislative initiative was the Sejm's working out and adoption of a press law. This law emphasizes the role of service of the press, radio, and television toward the socialist community, and guarantees journalists proper conditions for activity in the interests of society.

Political education and professional training of journalists have been made the order of the day. On the initiative of the PZPR Central Committee, a series of undertakings has been commenced, designed to improve the situation in this sphere. The form and content of training organized by 180 primary party organizations inside editorial offices have been modified. In 1984, the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Center of Cadre Training was established. The PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio, and Television Department organizes many specialized training sessions for journalists. Seminars organized by creative clubs of the SD PRL also serve to raise the professional abilities of journalists. As of the next academic year, journalist leadership cadres will be able to improve their qualifications in the Academy of Social Sciences.

The basic task of press, radio, and television reporters continues to be energetic participation in overcoming the effects of the political, social, and economic crisis; continuation of activity designed to regain the confidence and support of working people for the party's program; the gathering of supporters for the party's line of accord and struggle; the combating of everything that hampers progress; and the combating of evil, passiveness, and arrogance in all forms. The framework of political tasks facing journalism also contains broad-scale educational activity, especially concerning economic and historical subject matter, and the shaping of a scientific world outlook and a high political-legal culture.

During the consultations preceding the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, several hundred journalists from all voivodships spoke. They stressed that they should always accompany the party, the allied parties, and organizations acting on the basis of the PRON program by means of their publishing, information, and organizational activity.

The party expects the mass media, guided by the basic principles of socialism and full of concern for the development of socialist democracy and for the openness of public life, to perform their consultative function and their role as a platform for constant dialogue with society to an increasingly better degree. The party expects journalists to serve by means of their work the good of the nation, the strengthening of the state's prestige, the upbringing of patriotic and internationalist youth, and the shaping of

proper attitudes toward work. At the same time, the party expects them to counteract the destructive influence of political adversaries and unmask their anti-Polish activity. Above all, however, journalists face the task of satisfying readers' expectations for rapid and honest information, supplemented by accurate commentary.

The performance of the tasks assigned to the mass media is connected with a growth of the responsibility of the leaderships of editorial staffs, party organizations, and journalists' collectives. While performing their functions of information, publication, control, and intervention, editorial staffs must heed the press law and the particular responsibility of journalists for the honest reporting of facts.

Press, radio, and television should be open to the presentation of views by nonparty people who display a citizen-like concern for the country. They should constantly present the role and problems of the workers class and its decisive importance for the socialist construction process. The propagation of Marxism-Leninism requires particularly great practical ability.

In the system of managing the mass media, party cells perform an inspirational and control function toward the press, radio, and television. In order for journalists to perform their tasks correctly, it is essential to give them access to information, counteract attempts to block this information, guarantee conditions for the proper functioning of press criticism, and control reaction to this criticism.

Good journalism requires not only high professional ability, broad knowledge, and ethical values, but also technical resources. This situation is exceedingly complicated. The technical barrier may hamper journalistic efforts more and more. The printing industry possesses machinery that diverges far from the solutions that are being applied in the world today. This is causing a delay in the conveying of information. The efforts being made to surmount these barriers are incommensurate with needs. The program for reconstructing the printing industry will only bring visible results toward the end of the eighties.

Press printing houses' supply of paper is alarming. In 1976, paper supplies were the highest and there were 109 newspaper copies for every 1,000 inhabitants, but since then this figure has been constantly falling; last year it fell to 97 copies. The greatest shortage applies to newsprint, which affects the daily press most of all. The situation has deteriorated further this year: because of a paper shortage, the largest press publisher, the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Cooperative, will reduce its publishing activity by 8-13 percent this year. We are threatened with an exacerbation of these difficulties in 1986 and 1987 because of the planned modernization of paper plants in Poland and of our constant suppliers in the socialist countries.

The existing program for modernizing the Polish paper industry does not guarantee a considerable growth of production for the needs of the press. Hence the need to reanalyze the modernization program and alter the structure of paper production and distribution, replace packing paper by other materials, rationalize the use of piece work, and minimize losses occurring during the transportation of paper.

The problem of modernizing work organization is also becoming an increasingly evident problem for Polish journalism. This task is connected with the social problems put forth by the journalist community. Journalists have welcomed a series of social concessions in recent years that take the specifics of their profession into account. However, the issue of health protection still requires settling. A frequently announced postulate is the working out of a list of occupational hazards. In 1982-84, there were considerable wage rises in editorial offices, which countered inflation. Even so, the earnings of journalists do not fully reflect the differences between the work output among journalists and that of other professions today. The motivational role of wages in encouraging greater efficiency and concern for high journalistic quality has fallen.

This gives birth to opinions about a growing negative selection of material meant for publication, as well as about promotion to functional posts. Wages possess inadequate influence on rationalizing employment in editorial offices. These problems should be examined comprehensively during negotiations on a new collective work agreement four journalists, a draft of which is being worked out by the SD PRL and by the relevant trade unions.

The SD PRL and trade unions are cooperating with the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers Publishing Cooperative and other employers in order to solve the journalist community's social problems. Taking into account the nature and specifics of the functioning of editorial teams and publishing houses in the economic reform is one of the factors on which progress in this field depend.

5. Employees of the Health Service

The importance everyone attaches to the protection of his health and the social and economic importance of improving the nation's health determine the high status of the community of medical employees.

Important qualitative and quantitative changes in health protection and social welfare and in the population's health situation have occurred in People's Poland. The result of the expansion of secondary-level and higher-level medical training is a rise in the number of medical cadres. In 1983, the number of doctors was 69,231, which is 61,499 or almost 8 times more than in 1946. The number of dentists was 17,300. The number of nurses has also steadily risen from 6,064 in 1946 to 168,567 in 1983.

Right now, employees in the health service and social welfare service constitute a community of over 680,000 people, which is about 4 percent of the total number of people employed in the national economy. This is a community of many professions, among which doctors and nurses dominate. An important role is also played by scientific workers, who encourage progress in and the development of medical knowledge and practice. These constitute a group of over 8,000 professional people in medicine. One also observes a constant rise in the role and importance of other professions working within or for the health service, such as economists, engineers, and technicians in various specializations.

Despite acute shortages in the hospital base in some regions of Poland, visible progress has also been achieved in this sphere. From 1946 to 1983, the number of hospital beds rose from 90,948 to 240,907, which is 150,000 more.

Despite the drastic restrictions on investments in the national economy in recent years, no serious investment in the health service has been halted. Thanks to this, 19,800 hospital beds, 213 day clinics, 159 rural health centers, and almost 10,000 places in kindergartens were made available in 1981-1984.

Fifty-seven new hospitals are under construction.

The fundamental achievements in the development of People's Poland so far include the creation of a free, state health service and the inclusion in it of the rural population, plus the emergence of an industrial health service, emergency medical help, and a system of care over mothers and children.

Positive transformations have occurred in the state of society's health. Compared to before the war, the average life expectancy of a male Pole has risen by 19 years, and that of a female Pole by 24 years. Such diseases as trachoma and polio, as well as tuberculosis and venereal diseases, have been practically wiped out.

Scientific research and introduction programs are currently being implemented, designed to combat tumors and diseases of the circulation. A program for protecting the health of mothers and children is being prepared.

Combating dangers to health requires a constant professional advancement of medical cadres. An appropriate training system, worked out over the space of many years, is functioning in the health service. It covers all medical employees at their place of work and in specialized establishments. Educational meetings in hospital departments, private tuition under the supervision of senior doctors, and the activity of circles of scientific associations are only some of the forms of professional advancement in existence. In general operation is a system of further training courses and seminars, organized by medical academies, the Medical Center for Postgraduate Training, and Training Center for Secondary Medical Cadres according to a unified program. As a result of the functioning of the system of specialized training, over 71 percent of all doctors are specialists.

Despite the great effort and undeniable achievements in the development of health protection for the population and in the functioning of the social health service, not all needs are being or can be fully satisfied.

It is reckoned that there is a shortage of about 30,000 nurses in stationary medical care. The problem is exacerbated by a high-level departure of cadres due to early retirement and maternity leave. In many voivodships there is also an acute shortage of doctors, dentists, and pharmacists. In the current situation, increasing the number of students in medical academies depends mainly on the possibilities of expanding the teaching base in these academies.

There are also many shortages in the health service's material sphere. The degree to which the needs of the health service in this sphere are being satisfied varies greatly between individual regions and voivodships. The shortcomings apply in particular to hospital beds, places in welfare homes, supplies of medical equipment, and drugs, both from domestic production and from imports. Concerning drugs, very unfavorable trends have emerged during 1984 and the first quarter of 1985 that need to be overcome.

Many voivodships also have considerable shortages of blood, as well as shortcomings in sanitary inspection services. The diagnostic and technical-economic base also requires expansion and modernization.

Health service employees are subjected to constant social scrutiny like almost no other professional group. This system of social control should improve organization and service in individual health service premises more effectively. This community also possesses its own system of professional supervision, which, according to agreements between a voivodship and the state, regularly checks and assesses the activity and professional level of entire medical disciplines, as well as individual employees.

The medical community presents a relatively high ethical and professional standard. This has been confirmed by an honest and constant performance of professional duties in 1980 and 1981, even though this community was not free of the pressure and unrest in existence at that time. One can count on the dedication, honesty, and work readiness of health service employees in times of emergency, mass accidents, and natural disasters.

Nevertheless, this community is not free of incidental negative phenomena which disturb society and arouse the criticism of the entire medical community.

While indicating the need to eliminate violations of medical ethics, it is also necessary to heed and closely examine all the remarks and criticism voiced by medical employees in matters concerning their social conditions, the cadre situation, organizational structures, and shortages in supplies to and equipment of health premises.

Against the background of this criticism, it is essential for central and local authorities to carry out a deeper analysis of the state and needs of individual health service communities. The conclusions from this analysis should be used in the performance of this year's tasks and in the preparations for the 1986-90 plan, as well as in health protection programs. Medical cadres must be able to have a more effective influence on all basic undertakings involving society's health, above all concerning environmental protection, improving sanitary conditions, propagating health and ecology knowledge, and the quality and structure of food.

In order to increase the social prestige of health employees, it is necessary to raise the criteria for assessing their work, as well as the system of material and moral stimuli. Of particular importance will be improving the wage and incentive systems in accordance with the Ninth PZPR Congress resolution and the Sejm resolution dated 29 September, 1983.

Access to the latest professional literature, and scientific cooperation with foreign countries play a very important role in medical science. In this connection, it is necessary to seek a more effective system of information on the latest medical achievements in the world. The experiences of the fraternal socialist countries in this field may be very useful.

Effective protection of society's health against the chief dangers to health stemming from the growth of social pathology, pollution of the environment, and growth of social diseases is a basic requirement to which the general health service must prove equal in the immediate future.

The efforts of medical employees and essential resources must be directed primarily at:

- Combating circulatory diseases, psychic diseases, and tumors, as well as preventing accidents;
- Consistently performing the tasks defined in the programs of improved medical attention for mothers and children and at one's place of residence and education;
- Combating alcoholism, drug addiction, excessive smoking, and the spreading phenomenon of hypochondria;
- Developing and improving health protection for farmers and production work forces;
- Providing greater care for elderly and infirm persons;
- Improving sanitary conditions and personal hygiene.

The following require special concern on the part of the health service organizers:

- Developing and improving basic health care at one's residence or work;
- Reducing the disproportions between voivodships in the standard of medical and social care;
- Improving the organization and functioning of medical and social welfare premises as far as access and benefits are concerned;
- Improving the investments process, particularly the construction of hospitals and development of the social base inside individual medical premises;
- Implementing professional and social discipline in accordance with the fundamental duties of employees;

Socioprofessional organizations inside various health service communities have important tasks to perform. This concerns in particular:

- The integration of efforts by individual communities to develop social activity and raise the standard of professional activity;
- The improvement of professional knowledge and propagation of modern medical achievements among health service employees;
- Increasing society's knowledge of health and ecology;
- Shaping correct attitudes and socialist interpersonal relations among teams of employees.

Insufficient progress with the growth of party organizations inside the health service is causing concern. In this situation, the party's influence on all activity by health service premises and on development of their employees' sociopolitical attitudes is too low. Party organizations do not participate enough in opposing passiveness, which still occurs in many medical communities. This applies above all to scientific and teaching establishments.

Also unsatisfactory is the development of the trade union movement in the health service. There are no trade unions at all in many premises, and the managements of these premises do not create the right conditions for their emergence. While speaking about the socioprofessional activity of health service employees, one must bear in mind that most of them have improper working facilities and are suffering shortages of medical apparatus and equipment. There are also numerous cases of double employment, which result both from the needs of the health service and from the material situation of medical employees.

The current cadres and material potential is not being used properly. It is up to the people's councils, central and local bodies of administration, and the health service itself to permit the best use of present and future possibilities in this sphere. Considerable funds, both in zlotys and in convertible currency, are being assigned for health protection in our country. It is not and cannot be a matter of indifference how these funds are and will be used.

We expect the employees of the health service themselves to take an active part through their social and professional organizations to improve the functioning of the health service in accordance with social expectations. We also expect health service employees to take an active part in working out basic legal documents and long-term development plans and programs involving health care, both at central level and inside individual voivodships. These programs, regardless of the just demands voiced by individual professional groups inside the health service and even outside it, and also regardless of justified social needs, should be worked out on the basis of feasible possibilities, with simultaneous adherence to priorities defined with the participation of health service employees.

Apart from activity designed to modernize and develop the material base, one of the most important tasks is to create a climate of honest, dedicated work at every post. Like no other profession, the health service requires personal standards which can be used as an example to others. The directors of work premises, party and trade union organizations, and all employees in the health service must involve themselves energetically in creating such a climate.

Giving organizers of health protection the correct social status is of great importance for the proper functioning of the health and social welfare services.

These cadres should combine their medical qualifications with essential socioeconomic knowledge and appropriate social and ethical attitudes. The duty to improve the functioning of the health service will rest on these cadres. While improving the health service, one should use the results of Polish scientific research into organization and management more than so far, and develop cooperation with the socialist countries in this respect.

The development of medical science and the development of medical technology are presenting the community of doctors and nurses with ever-new tasks. Mastering these scientific and technical achievements must go hand in hand with the shaping of proper interhuman relations both between doctor and patient and within the health service itself.

Society expects medicine to be at a high scientific level, and expects efficient, effective, and deeply humanitarian health protection of the greatest value.

6. Employees of the State Administration and Legal Protection Bodies

A large intelligentsia group is employed in the state administration. The social status of the work of this part of the intelligentsia defines the intelligentsia's role in the functioning of the socialist state, in developing socialist democracy, strengthening the rule of law, shaping citizen-like attitudes, and raising the political and legal culture. Officials directly implement state policy in all spheres of social and economic life. They care a climate of social confidence in the authorities. It is on them that the content of a series of changes in the mechanisms of the state's functioning depend.

The tasks performed by the state administration create a double role of this part of the intelligentsia. On the one hand, the intelligentsia implements the principles of people's authority, and on the other hand it is the social group that, for all members of society, personifies the state in all its forms of activity, including the application of administrative pressure.

In its entire activity, the administration of the socialist state is meant to serve the basic interests of the workers class and the entire working people. It is meant to perform its tasks within the framework of the law, and is subject to management and control by the Sejm and people's councils and to assessment by citizens in general according to the law.

Positive changes have occurred in the organization and work style of the administration in recent years. A reform of its central bodies has been started, and amalgamations of different offices and some offices themselves have been abolished. Administrative structures are being simplified and their work style improved.

In the government's work, it is becoming normal practice to make use of the opinions of various consultative-advisory bodies. In order to improve relations between the government and the citizens, a catalog of duties of officials and rights of citizens inside PPR offices was adopted in July 1984.

Currently 137,100 people are employed in the state administration, of whom 16,700 are in central state offices.

State administrative cadres are constantly increasing their qualifications. The percentage of persons with higher education rose from 27.7 percent in 1978 to 31.2 percent in 1984. Of this percentage, the percentage of employees with higher education inside regional state administrative bodies rose from 23.6 percent to 26.7 percent within the same period. Some 95.9 percent of those occupying leadership posts in central offices possess higher education, and this education is possessed by 56.3

percent of those holding similar posts in local offices. Higher education is held by 96.6 percent of directors of voivodship office departments, 100 percent of city mayors, 83.4 percent of chief executives of cities-cum-rural districts, and 72 percent of chief executives of rural districts. Employees are becoming younger. In local offices, 61 percent of employees are below 40 years of age (23.3 percent below 30). The number of women is notable, especially at the regional level, where they comprise over 70 percent of all employees. The rise in the number of women has slackened lately.

Employees of the state administration perform the function of organizers of various spheres of economic, social, and cultural life. The range of professional specializations held by officials is broad. In the administration, these perform not only the role of specialists in administration, but also the role of lawyers, economists, agricultural experts, veterinarians, foresters, teachers, and doctors.

The quality of officials' work largely shapes society's confidence in people's authority. Unfortunately, one still encounters unequivocal ideological-ethical attitudes among them. On the one hand, there is an official attitude that accepts the state's political goals, and, on the other hand, there is an unofficial attitude that sets itself at a distance from these goals. This latter attitude is usually invisible, and only makes itself felt in the results of decisions made. There are also officials who cover up their own inability or incompetence with alleged decisions made by "the authorities higher up" or with faulty legal rules. This two-facedness or inability requires consistent counteraction. It is essential to eliminate everything that undermines the citizen's confidence in the state. At the same time, it is necessary to defend the good name of all those in the service of the state who deserve respect for their work and attitude, and encourage recognition for them and their work.

The activity of state officials is subject to constant assessment by citizens. The sharpness of this criticism rises especially in times of exacerbated difficulties.

A profound state consciousness and political and legal culture should characterize both officials and "ordinary" citizens. However, we must expect much more from those who represent the state at any given moment.

The core of officials comprises people born and educated in People's Poland, originating from all classes and social strata. The firm majority of them tie their fortunes permanently to the development and consolidation of the socialist state. Low wages and continuing low prestige cause excessive fluctuations in cadres. Employment in the state administration is still not a form of employment preferred by young people. It is necessary to create essential conditions in order to make this a sought-after form of employment.

On account of the specific nature of work in central offices, especially in ministries dealing with industrial branches, there is often a demand for an influx of cadres from enterprises to these ministries. At present there is a lack of such an influx because of the low wages paid to officials. Cadres are selected for ministries out of a so-called cadre reserve. This situation needs to be changed. It is essential to create professional advancement prospects for the young intelligentsia.

In the consultations preceding the 19th plenum, the way local administration structures were reorganized was criticized. It was demanded that such structural changes take place after an objective examination of the state of affairs so far and after taking into consideration the opinions of officials as well.

Employees of local offices have pointed out that the work of the administration should be based on a clearly and precisely defined and relatively stable division of powers, as well as on a system of structures which guarantee an optimum flow of information,

an optimum functioning of the decisionmaking process, and properly functioning supervision.

One of the barriers to the efficient functioning of the administration, especially at primary level, is a shortage of technical equipment and a bad organization of work posts. It is essential to universally recognize the principle of good work organization, apply efficient administrative techniques based on scientific rules, and pay particular attention to technical and office equipment (means of transportation, communications, and so on). This affects efficiency and speed in settling official matters.

It is essential to rationalize employment in supreme and central offices, with a view to reducing the number of leadership posts, among other things.

Acting on behalf of the state and implementing its policy requires not only appropriate knowledge from representatives of the administration, but also a sensitivity toward the needs and aspirations of citizens, principle-minded political and moral attitudes, honesty and openness in interpersonal relations, personal culture, and modesty. In order to perform its role effectively, the administration must become not only a place where many energetic, educated, and dedicated people carry out their professions, but also, and above all, an entity that is conscious of its service of the fatherland. The shaping of such an administration is an important task for the party in the next few years.

Despite the progress brought by the law on state officials, administrative procedures, cadre reviews, and promotion policy require improvement. The rules governing cadre policy, especially concerning their selection, adherence to high professional and ethnical standards, and devotion to the cause of socialism, should be applied with full consistency.

It is essential to expand the system of training for the needs of the administration. This applies both to secondary administrative cadres as well as to leadership cadres with the highest qualifications. For this purpose it is necessary to examine the rules in force for training administrative cadres at secondary, higher, and postgraduate education levels, as well as the rules governing further on-the-job training. Decisions concerning a cohesive system of training highly qualified cadres for the needs of the socialist state's administration should be made in the near future. A specialized institute of higher education -- the Academy of Administration and Management -- should be a great help in this sphere.

The community of officials should be incorporated more and more in the process of socializing the system of exercising authority. An important role in this sphere should be played by consultations on important decisions for the development of the state and by the appointment of advisory bodies attached to central and local bodies of the administration. These bodies should make fuller use of the intellectual potential of the Polish Academy of Sciences, schools of higher education, scientific institutes, and sociocultural organizations and associations than so far. The scientific community should undertake broader research into the functioning of the state and economic administration.

Strengthening the administration's prestige and society's confidence in it is primarily the task of employees themselves. Establishing within the consciousness of officials a proper awareness of their role should be the priority task of primary party organizations inside state offices.

It is the duty of primary party organizations in state offices to create conditions which guarantee the performance of the party's program and political line. An important educational function of the primary party organizations is to create a model personality for employees of a socialist state administration, and encourage party and

nonparty employees to increase their sociopolitical knowledge, especially concerning basic problems of Marxism-Leninism, and become better acquainted with current problems of socialist construction. Party meetings should discuss the socioeconomic effects of decisions made within an office's powers.

It is also the task of primary party bodies to examine how complaints and remarks from citizens concerning the functioning of an office are settled and to watch over a correct reaction to criticism. Party cells should pay more attention to administrative employees and to the activity of offices.

Lawyers have an important role in the socialist construction process. Right now there are over 60,000 people with a legal education in Poland, of whom over 40,000 are employed in the socialized sector. A considerable proportion of the legal community is working to defend such basic values as the political and economic interest of the socialist state, to guarantee public law and order, and protect the life, health, and other interests of citizens. Lawyers should be in the front rank of the social forces opposing all activity directed against the socialist legal order.

The legally trained intelligentsia has made a considerable contribution to the building of a people's statehood.

Availing themselves of Polish and international progressive democratic traditions, lawyers are developing legal thought and seeing to it that fundamental political, economic, and social changes receive a modern legal shape.

The tasks of the legal intelligentsia concerning the socialist development of People's Poland have grown since the Ninth PZPR Congress, the resolutions of which gave the law a particularly high status in the steering of social, political, and economic processes. Legal rules not only define the framework for changes in all spheres of life, but are also a tool for the formation of socialist consciousness, as well as for cultural creativity.

There is a need to steadily improve the legislation already in force, as well as the process by which new laws are made. In this respect there are broad tasks facing creators of the law, theoreticians, and lawyers implementing the law in practice. A hasty initiation of legislative changes should be avoided; instead, there should be concern for the high quality of law-making and for correct organization of the implementation of laws.

The system of holding consultations with the legal community on more important acts demands improvement.

Lawyers should display greater energy in assessing the implementation of the law and its social consequences. By implementing the law every day, they have a better insight into how much individual laws stand the practical test of life and how much they conform to society's expectations.

The task of the legal community is to see to it that everyone obeys the law in force. Of particular importance is obedience to the law in all kinds of economic organizations, because legal violations here are a serious danger to the national economy and society.

In order to step up and steer more accurately the struggle against social pathology and crime in all its forms, it will be important to work out, in accordance with the decision of the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, a report on the causes, extent, structure, and development trends of breaches of the law, order, and social discipline. This report will be submitted for social discussion. The voice of the legal community should not be absent in this discussion. Neither should there be an absence of various

legal specialists during the working out of a government program to combat pathology and crime. The activity of the Constitutional Tribunal, which is currently being set up, will present the legal community with new tasks. This tribunal will serve to strengthen the rule of law in the law making and law enforcement process. It will animate the professional work of all lawyers.

The socialist construction process is taking place during a sharp class struggle. The battlefield of this struggle is often the law and the law making process. Frequently there is activity which appears to be implementation of the law, but which is really contrary to the intention of the legislator and contrary to the interest of the socialist state. Lawyers have the professional and citizens duty to effectively oppose such attempts to abuse the law. Special tasks in this sphere rest on the shoulders of lawyers employed in the Interior Ministry, prosecutor's offices, judicial bodies, and control bodies.

Distorted concepts such as a golden freedom, rights separated from citizens duties, the state as an organization that is opposed to the citizens, the rule of law as a duty whereby state bodies alone obey the law and not the citizens -- concepts that are traditional and that have been perpetuated by political adversaries in recent years -- are still deep in the consciousness of society. This unfavorable state in the consciousness of a part of society hampers the stabilization and normalization of the country's life, fails to encourage citizens to join in management of the affairs of the region and state, and leads to reduced professional and social energy.

It is the task of lawyers to remove these distortions in the minds of society. Every lawyer should be an energetic propagator of the law both in his professional and social activity. He should explain the significance of the law in the life of the state.

The legal community should undertake energetic activity for the sake of fully implementing the Politburo's 16 October 1984 decision concerning society's legal-state education. A special role in this sphere is assigned to employees in legal protection bodies, who have the possibility of directly influencing society's consciousness and legal culture. In 1984 the courts heard over 1.6 million cases of all kinds, with the participation of the parties, witnesses, and the public. This means that several million people listen to or attend court hearings every year. Legal hearings are an opportunity to create a climate of social respect for the law and for the rules of social coexistence, as well as a climate of condemnation of violations of the law and breaches of discipline. Legal advisors as upholders of the law in workplaces may also accomplish a lot in this respect.

The need to carry out a penetrating analysis of the system of training legal cadres, beginning with university studies and ending with preparations for a career and on-the-job training, was pointed out during many discussions prior to the 19th plenum. The guiding thought of these changes should be the fact that a lawyer should be fully educated, that his knowledge should facilitate his start in his chosen legal profession, and that -- and this is exceedingly important -- he should appear as a spokesman for the interests of the socialist state. Party organizations have an important role to play in raising the professional knowledge of lawyers, shaping their ideological-political attitudes, and including them in social activity.

It is necessary to ensure a correct distribution of legal cadres in various regions of the country, especially in rural regions. The wages system should play an important role here.

Polish legal doctrine has rich, progressive traditions and a great theoretical store, as well as not inconsiderable achievements concerning empirical studies and analytical work. There is an urgent need to deepen the ties between doctrine and legal practice.

The above discussion of problems concerning the chief intelligentsia centers does not, of course, cover all the professional groups thereof. For example, it does not include that professional group dealing with the organization of social life and political activity, a group which performs an important role in society. Neither does it cover the professional military cadres, a conspicuous detachment of the new, people's intelligentsia of Poland. Representatives of the military cadres are to be found in the most important intelligentsia communities. They include eminent creators of science and culture of national renown, health service employees, journalists, and lawyers. Military cadres are also employees of education.

These intelligentsia groups perform particularly responsible tasks. They make an important contribution to the intellectual and cultural development of the whole of society.

The material presented by the PZPR CC Politburo for discussion by the 19th PZPR Plenum and for public discussion has emerged during the process of broad consultations. The approach of all professional groups toward this analysis of the situation inside individual intelligentsia communities, toward the intelligentsia's tasks, and toward the ways of performing these tasks, will affect the practical implementation of the work for 1986-90. This will also be an important contribution to work on a future party program, to be prepared at the 10th PZPR Congress.

Just as we invited all intelligentsia communities to broadly cooperate in the preparations for the 19th PZPR Plenum, we will address the implementation of the plenum's decisions to the entire intelligentsia, both party and nonparty people, believers and nonbelievers. We are counting on initiative, fire, and energy from the young intelligentsia, as well as on the knowledge and experience of the old intelligentsia generation in order to overcome the barriers of the country's development.

PRC'S LI PENG DISCUSSES ECONOMICS WITH OBODOWSKI

LD222150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] PRC Deputy Premier Li Peng, who is paying an official visit to Poland, today held talks in Warsaw with Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski. The two discussed the main lines of developing economic cooperation and trade in both countries.

Also today, Li Peng went to Katowice to meet Minister of Mining and Energy Czeslaw Piotrowski and to familiarize himself with the main issues in those industries. The PRC deputy premier also visited the "Komag" mine equipment center and the "Halemba" colliery.

NEW EDUCATION LAW CALLS FOR 'POLITICAL EDUCATION'

AU221416 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 22 May 85

[Excerpt] Warsaw, May 22 (AFP) -- Some 2,000 students and professors of Warsaw University today demonstrated peacefully against government plans to curb university autonomy. They were protesting against a planned amendment to the current 1982 law, which was inspired by the now-banned Solidarity free trade union.

The protestors gathered silently in the university courtyard and unfolded a banner written in the characteristic lettering of the Solidarity emblem, which read: "We do not want amendments". "Who will teach our children after the amendments?" another poster read.

The proposed amendment would give the state power to dismiss teaching staff and students. "Political education" classes would become obligatory, and police would be allowed to intervene on campuses, from which they are barred under current legislation.

WARSAW HOPES TALKS WITH FRANCE IMPROVE RELATIONS

LD230839 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2110 GMT 22 May 85

[From "The World Panorama" program presented by Jan Gadomski and Krzysztof Wojna]

[Text] In recent years, Polish-French relations have been a long way from ideal. This has not been our fault. It is obvious to every impartial observer that Poland has been attacked by various political forces along the Seine, many times, brutally, and unrelentingly. It is equally obvious that this state of affairs is not desired by us, nor is it in the interests of the French state. Thus we would like to view the first high-level French-Polish talks in a long time as the harbinger of a new stage of cooperation, devoid of unrealistic prejudices, and corresponding to our mutual interests. Now, to our Paris correspondent Andrzej Bilik.

[Begin Bilik recording] Today in Paris the first political consultations in several years between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland and France ended in Paris. They were chaired on the Polish side by Ernest Kucza, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the course of businesslike talks, both the current international situation and the state of bilateral relations were assessed. The will was voiced to revive Polish-French cooperation in various areas and to continue the political dialogue between Paris and Warsaw. Let me add that the renewal of this dialogue has met with due recognition in France's capital by those circles who do not desire this normalization. This found expression in publications in certain newspaper. Obviously, the shape of future cooperation will depend on hard facts. Today, in any case, one has the impression that at least on the side of the Quai d'Orsay there is a perceptible will to gradually return to more realistic French-Polish contacts, devoid of any unnecessary passions. [end recording]

MESSNER INTERVIEWED ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

AU211141 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 11 May 85 pp 1, 4

[Interview given by Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and vice premier, to Jerzy Kleer: "What Is the Condition of Poland?"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kleer] What is the condition of Poland? This is the question that millions of Poles -- who read and hear that production has gone up and things have improved, but see none of this -- continue to ask themselves. Our living conditions continue to be difficult, more difficult than some years ago when promises were made that prosperity was just around the corner. The results of the many years of efforts to convince us that Poland was the world's tenth industrial power are still there. At the same time, our people were fed with visions of a second Japan. However, pessimism is rife today, and one finds it difficult to find one's bearings. What is the truth of our situation?

[Messner] What the press writes is true. Our economy's tendency to decline has been stopped and reversed. In the past 2 years our national income has increased about 5-6 percent a year. Following the market catastrophe in 1981-82, we continue to gradually restore the normal conditions of sales. The flow of goods has increased and the necessary stocks in warehouses are being replenished.

After the shock in 1982 when prices went up some 100 percent on the average, the price increase in 1983 amounted to 21 percent and last year to 15 percent. All this took place in a situation in which we were forced to drastically reduce imports and in which our balance of trade with the capitalist countries became positive for the first time since 1971. In previous years we continued to raise our living standards every year with the help of foreign loans, which boosted our debts. Even in 1980 prominent economic experts in the West announced that the structure of the Polish economy did not make it possible to achieve convertible currency surpluses and that it would be unable to function without assistance in the form of an annual negative balance of payments. Reality has scotched these views. However, we should bear in mind that the economy is ruled by the tough principle that you do not get something for nothing. That is why we had to lower our living standards and curtail the country's development potential. It is we and no one else that must pay for balancing our economy.

We must do this under very unfavorable conditions of a tense international situation, economic sanctions, and deteriorated trade with foreign countries. The increase in the cost of imported materials was larger in 1980-84 than the prices at which we sold our goods. This unfavorable ratio is beginning to improve only now! We also have many domestic difficulties. There have been many appraisals of our economic reform, but none of them has mentioned that every change and reorganization must be paid for. Under normal conditions, before a reorganization is attempted, the government amasses the necessary resources and elects the most suitable moment to carry out the reorganization. Our government was placed in an exceptional situation because the functioning of our economy had to be reorganized all at once. As a country, society, and government we were not able to select the moment of our economic reform and we did not have the necessary resources. The situation made the reform necessary at once. We were also under considerable pressure from the public, which wanted a reform of not only economic management, but also of the method of government. It also wanted a greater democratization of the country's life.

Our country is among the world's moderately developed countries. Poland's position in the world is not as high as was claimed by the propaganda of the seventies and not as low as is often being asserted by our enemies, who describe us as part of the "fourth world." The world fiscal authorities give us better chances than many other debtor countries because they take a good view of our potential, despite its progressive decline and of the high average standards of our educational and vocational qualifications. What is most difficult for us is to determine our own potentials.

[Kleer] People say that favorable changes are too slow, that results are lower than expected, that many errors are being committed, and that the government is inconsistent in some of its activities.

[Messner] In theory it is very easy to propose a program for overcoming the crisis. Economic theory provides clear directives in this regard, and we also know the experience of other countries. However, the thing is that each such cure involves enormous costs to be borne by the people. Under such cures the masses of poor people increase in dramatically and poverty and unemployment appear. This is the price for a rapid return to prosperity. Are we to employ such mechanisms in socialist Poland? We have adopted the policy of protecting the living standards of the poorest people as our main directive. This protection is consuming enormous resources, which could have been used for rebuilding our economy, and is creating economic and social problems because wages are not very attractive, which makes it difficult to motivate people to do more productive work than average work. However, for the moment we continue to tolerate all this so that we can implement our basic political directive, which stems from our political principles and from the decisions of the ninth party congress: the need to protect the economically weakest groups of our society.

[Kleer] What is disturbing is not so much the absolute level of production and consumption, but the continued negative features of the economy -- such as great material and energy intensiveness, low effectiveness and productivity, and poor exploitation of resources. Our people have hoped that after 3 years of reform activities these features would disappear or at least be radically reduced, but nothing of the kind has taken place.

[Messner] People generally assume that economic incentives are a panacea for everything, but this is not so. Economic incentives have a very limited radius of influence. Even the best and most accurate methods of management will not ensure that the material intensiveness of machines and technologies can be reduced by half. Management methods can merely encourage conservation of materials and the boosting of economic effectiveness and productivity; they cannot do the job by themselves.

We have inherited a certain production base, the distinctive features of which are the errors that were made in economic management in the sixties. These errors amounted to promoting a thriftless and extensive management of production. The results of these errors are still there because we continue to indulge in an excessive demand for producer materials, which our economy is unable to meet. This leads to tension in the flow of these materials to enterprises and to faulty decisions, because enterprises have no choice, find themselves in compelling circumstances, and are unable to select the most advantageous alternative since there is only one way out for them.

If we want to switch our economy to intensive development, we must not only change the system of economic management, but also profoundly modernize the production apparatus. To do this we must invest, but we lack investment funds, and one reason for this is that we spend money to protect our living standards. After all, the drop in our consumption was lower than the drop in our national income. Besides, the level of consumption in the seventies was also excessive because we shared more than we produced. All this gives you a complete picture of our complicated problems. Actually we should say an "almost complete" picture, because the tendency toward thriftless and ineffective economic management has also become part and parcel of the psychology and behavior of some people. Some managers and workers in enterprises are now traditionally uninterested in conserving production materials, even those materials that are most scarce.

[Kleer] The world is undergoing the third technological revolution -- the computer revolution -- which is promoting automation and computerization on an unprecedented scale. As a result, production is becoming cheaper, more modern, more attractive, and qualitatively better. As for us, we had better keep mum on this subject.... What can we do to avoid being left too far behind the rest of the world?

[Messner] This problem is facing all the countries of our bloc. On the one hand, the arms race forced on us makes it necessary for us to allocate the necessary funds to ensure our defense. On the other, the consumer aspirations of our societies continue to be unsatisfied. What can we do to make a technological leap under these conditions? Poland's situation in this regard is more difficult than is the case with our CEMA partners. Our planning commission is continuing to develop a program for restructuring our economy with a view to eliminating the industries and their branches that are obsolete and material and energy intensive, and to create the production lines that meet the exacting economic and technical criteria of modernity. The crux of these changes is to concentrate the state's economic effort on selected enterprises that are most effective under our conditions. This is because the past experience shows that "egalitarian" treatment of all sectors and potential lines of development leads to a dispersal of resources and, consequently, to increased imbalance in the flow of producer materials to enterprises.

[Kleer] What should be done then to eliminate this dispersal and to achieve the concentration about which the theoreticians have dreamt for years?

[Messner] We must make a choice that makes allowances for the country's limited resources of materials and energy and that is based on an analysis of the achievements, profitability, and technological base of the individual branches of the economy and the tendencies of world technological progress. Finally, our most crucial task is to make a choice in determining Poland's future specialization in the international division of production under the auspices of CEMA economic integration. Like other CEMA members, we expect that the joint solution of technological problems will enable us to reduce the costs of modernizing the production methods in our countries. However, I agree that needs in this regard are now much greater than our potential to meet them.

[Kleer] We need imports and convertible currencies to promote technological progress. Our per capita exports are very low -- the lowest among the socialist countries. What export incentives will the government employ to enable our country to take advantage of the international division of labor?

[Messner] We are taking many ad hoc measures. I will not list them. Generally speaking, I think that we will not be able to make our economy export-oriented unless we modernize it and make it more productive and effective.

[Kleer] We have now reached the stage of studies concerning our economic plans. Are you certain that these studies will produce plans before the time comes to implement them?

[Messner] The chairman of the Planning Commission will soon submit to our people and to the Sejm the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-90 and the Long-Term Plan for 1986-95 for discussion and acceptance. These plans will include programs for the necessary economic changes and the timetable for the activities to implement these changes. The leading tasks will include effective economic management, conservation of resources, and modernization of certain selected production lines in order to make them profitable for export. The plans will also list measures to improve the population's living standards.

We are fully aware of the fact that the decisions that will be made in the next few months about the lines of our country's development may determine Poland's place in the world for the coming decades. The situation is no longer such that in the next 5 years, in case of errors, someone may propose some diametrically different plan. His hands will be tied because of the actions already taken by us. Development trends in the economy are usually calculated for periods longer than 5 years. These trends now initiated will determine the situation in which Poland will find itself on the threshold of the 21st century.

STATE COUNCIL VIEWS FACTORY CONTROLS, COMPLAINTS

AU211125 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 85 pp 1,2

[Excerpts] PAP -- On 16 May there was a session of the State Council at the Belvedere Palace. A report on the activity of the State Work Inspectorate in 1984 and the first quarter of 1985 was examined, together with a report on activity designed to improve working conditions during the 1982-84 period.

In 1984, the State Work Inspectorate checked 13,300 plants, in which a total of 17,500 controls were carried out. Of these 2,400 controls concerned problems of legal work protection.

The greatest number of controls were held in those enterprises where particular dangers to work safety and hygiene exist. Where departures from the norm were determined, inspectors issued over 16,000 directives, containing a total of about 127,000 instructions.

The State Council examined a report on letters, complaints, and comments which had reached the State Council in 1984. A total of over 20,000 such letters, complaints, and comments reached the State Council last year. The feedback presented a picture of continuing shortcomings in the activity of the state administrative apparatus and bodies of investigation and justice. It also reflected many of the cares, troubles, and shortcomings stemming in particular from the country's difficult economic situation. Analyzing the complaints and the way of and time for dealing with them, the State Council indicated the need to use complaints in order to improve the administration's functioning. Serious tasks in this respect face the people's councils because the firm majority of the complaints involve irregularities in the functioning of the local administration. The system of working out analyses of complaints and drawing conclusions from them in order to pass the appropriate signals to the authorities and institutions concerned and make them eliminate the reasons behind the irregularities needs to be improved.

The State Council ratified a treaty between the governments of the PPR and Republic of Argentina on cultural and scientific cooperation, signed in Buenos Aires on 2 October, 1984.

Thirty persons were granted Polish citizenship.

66TH SEJM SESSION SCHEDULED TO CONVENE 29 MAY

LD222009 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to convene the 66th session of the Sejm in the current term of office on 29 May. The agenda provides for a report by the extraordinary commission on the draft law of the rules for the elections to the Sejm of the PPR, submitted by the State Council, a government report on the state of agriculture and the food economy last year, and deputies' oral and written questions.

LATE REPORT: DISSIDENT TRIAL; SUPPORTERS ARRESTED

AU231045 Paris AFP in English 1040 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, May 23 (AFP) -- Police arrested at least three supporters of three leading dissidents outside the courthouse in Gdansk where the trial went on trial today in one of Poland's most important political cases. About 50 friends of the accused, Adam Michnik, Bogdan Lis and Wladyslaw Frasyntuk, had gathered near the court, which was surrounded by policemen.

Mr. Michnik, a leader of the KOR social self-defense committee, and the other two, officials of the banned Solidarity trade union, were arrested February 13 in a Gdansk apartment where they and Solidarity chief Lech Walesa were discussing plans for a symbolic strike against food price increases. The three are charged with directing an illegal organization, which carries a maximum prison term of five years.

Witnesses said they saw police today arresting a former Solidarity vice-president Andrzej Gwiazda, a Solidarity leader from the northern city of Bydgoszcz, Jan Rulewski, and the owner of the apartment where the defendants had been arrested, Krzysztof Pusz.

The three defendants were taken from a holding cell through an underground passage to the court, where the trial began, a court spokesman said.

Western reporters are barred from covering the trial, and witnesses said Bogdan Turek, Polish correspondent of United Press International news agency, was detained by police for 30 minutes after he was found to have gotten into the courthouse.

Solidarity and other groups opposing the regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski say the government has stepped up repression of dissidents recently, after an amnesty from July to December last year in which all but a few political prisoners were freed. The opposition says there are now more than 200 political prisoners in Poland, including KOR founder Jacek Kuron and the former Solidarity leader in Warsaw's steel mills, Seweryn Jaworski.

The three defendants at the Gdansk trial, Mr. Michnik, 38, Mr. Lis, 32, and Mr. Frasyniuk, 30, had all been released under the amnesty.

Mr. Gwiazda, arrested outside the court today, had come out of prison a few days ago after serving a five-month term for taking part in a demonstration.

Mr. Walesa, the Nobel Peace Prize winner who is Poland's best known opposition figure, is under judicial investigation for his participation in the February 13 meeting and cannot leave Gdansk without police permission. The government has said he is free to accept an invitation to attend a human rights conference in France May 30 and 31, but Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban intimated on Tuesday that the Solidarity leader might not be allowed back into Poland afterwards.

Mr. Walesa is expected to be called as a state witness in the trial that opened today and is set down to last until Tuesday, with a break over the weekend.

Mr. Michnik, Mr. Lis and Mr. Frasyniuk are being defended by a team of eight lawyers. International observers from Amnesty International and the French CFDT Trade Union Confederation were refused permission to attend.

STATE COUNCIL RATIFIES WARSAW PACT EXTENSION

Ceausescu Reservations

AU221835 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1732 GMT 22 May 85

["Romania's State Council Ratifies the Protocol on Extending the Warsaw Treaty -- President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/5/1985 -- In his speech made at the May 22 meeting of the State Council, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that Romania's State Council ratified the protocol on extending for another 20 years the Warsaw Treaty.

"The ratification of this protocol is of outstanding importance and is a very significant act in the home and international policy, corresponding to the full to the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the RCP, to the Romanian people's general will to consolidate the collaboration and friendship with the socialist countries in the Warsaw Treaty, with all the socialist countries generally.

"As is known", President Nicolae Ceausescu went on, "we first meant and suggested that the treaty be extended for a shorter period of time. We endorsed this position starting from the fact that we had to give a new perspective to the peoples, to the struggle for the abolition of the military blocs and for peace. We even had in view to leave it to the younger generation to endorse decisions that would fit better the next development stage.

"In the end we reached an agreement with the other Warsaw Pact states to sign the extension for another 20 years. We did it wishing to make our contribution to the strengthening of the collaboration and friendship with the socialist countries in this treaty.

"At the same time, I have to stress it also in the meeting of the State Council", the president said, "that this extension was necessary because of the tense situation in Europe and the world over, because of the continuing danger of war, of a new world war included, as well as of the continuation of the NATO, the treaty of the Western countries and the United States of America."

Nicolae Ceausescu then said: "So, we consider that under the circumstances this extension is necessary. I would, however, like to mention in the State Council meeting as well -- and trace it as a task to our bodies carrying on activity in international policy -- that we should not necessarily consider this extension for a duration of 20 years, but act so that conditions be provided for the concomitant renunciation of the two military blocs -- The NATO and the Warsaw Treaty -- and thus reduce in fact the duration of this treaty. We don't consider this as a general assertion only, but as a position which accords with the course of international events, as requirement of eliminating from mankind's life the wars, military blocs, the policy of force and threat of force.

"We should permanently bear in mind that the guaranteed defence of the independence of the Warsaw Treaty states, that is also of Romania, can be done best not through more expenditures and more arms, but, on the contrary, through an international policy of peace, disarmament, nuclear disarmament above all, of halting the arms race, and secondly, through a correct international policy of socio-economic development, of fulfillment of our countries' programmes -- hence also of our party's programs of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and providing conditions for a passage to communism -- of raising the peoples' material and cultural welfare.

"We have to be always fully aware that the real consolidation of the socialist countries' defence capacity and force first of all resides in socio-economic development, in the successful construction of socialism and, in this connection, in the accomplishment of everything comprised in our development programme, including the improved management of socio-economic activity, development of people's revolutionary worker democracy, active participation in the management of all sectors of activity. The might of socialism does not reside so much in large amounts of armaments, nuclear rockets included; on the contrary, it lies in the powerful development of production forces, of the socialist construction, of the socialist democracy. By this we shall prove the superiority of socialism, we shall assert the force of socialism throughout the world.

"In this spirit, I should like that, by ratifying the protocol on the extension of the Warsaw Treaty, to empower the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to request it to work resolutely to unflinchingly implement the 13th Party Congress resolutions, the programme of socioeconomic development, to boost the cooperation with the CMEA socialist countries -- which are, in part, members of the Warsaw Treaty too -- for socio-economic development and improved cooperation in all economic fields; let us promote the collaboration with the other states of the world, with the developing and non-aligned countries and with the developed capitalist countries, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Let us firmly base our international relations on the principles of equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in home affairs and mutual advantage.

"Let us work so that adequate accords be reached at the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America likewise, let us strengthen the cooperation with the other states in Europe and the world over to contribute to the success of these talks, to the elimination of nuclear missiles and of all nuclear arms from the European Continent and the world over, to prevent outer space militarization.

All peoples' future, of our people too, is linked with the policy of peace and socio-economic development.

Ratifying the treaty, I believe that we should assert our will to intensify the struggle for peace, for the development of the socialist construction, for a close collaboration with the socialist countries, with all the states of the world. Let us be firm in the belief that the real possibility exists to prevent war, to shorten military pacts. We would like this treaty not to last twenty years, but to be terminated concomitantly with the NATO pact -- as soon as possible. The faster we do this, the better we serve the interests of our people, of the socialist countries, the interests of all peoples, of international peace and collaboration. I propose to ratify unanimously the protocol on the extension of the Warsaw Treaty.

State Council Action

AU221849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/5/1985 -- A meeting of the Romanian State Council, chaired by Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Republic, took place in Bucharest, on May 22.

Deputy prime ministers, ministers, other heads of central bodies, chairmen of standing commissions of the Grand National Assembly attended the meeting as invited guests.

The State Council examined the protocol concluded in Warsaw on April 26, 1985, on the extension of the validity of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955.

Debates took place in connection with this item on the agenda.

The speakers assessed highly the active and very important contribution of Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, to the preparation and smooth run of the Warsaw summit, the wonderful way in which he presented Romania's position on the questions discussed. They highlighted the outstanding importance of the constructive, realistic proposals advanced at the meeting by the president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, on the ways and means of strengthening the collaboration and cooperation among the socialist countries, for the lessening of the international tension, the firm promotion of the policy of detente, peace and security, for the defence of the people's and nations' supreme right to life, to free and dignified existence. They stressed that the signing by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania of the protocol on extending the validity of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance signed in Warsaw, on May 14, 1955, was a necessity resulting from the evolution of the international situation, from the continuing danger of war, and was in full harmony with the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, and fully accorded with the interests of the Romanian people, of the general cause of socialism and peace, detente, security and collaboration in Europe and the world over.

On the occasion, emphasis was placed on the constant position of this country, of Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, to further work, along with the other socialist countries, for a policy of detente, confidence and security in international life, for overcoming the world's division into opposing military blocs, for a united Europe of peace and collaboration, free of missiles and any nuclear arms.

The speakers pointed out that in the spirit of the orientations and recommendations of Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania was firmly resolved to most steadily work in future as well in order to enhance her contribution to the struggle for disarmament and peace, for the elimination of the danger of a new world war, for a broad international collaboration relying upon the principles of equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage -- for the elimination of the force and threat of force from inter-state relations, for the settlement of all disputed issues by peaceful, negotiated means.

At the close of the debates, President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

The State Council unanimously ratified the Warsaw April 26, 1985 protocol on the extension of the Warsaw Treaty.

Upon President Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal, the State Council decided that on the presentation of the instruments of ratification of the protocol, to address to state councils, presidential presidiums and councils, the governments of the socialist states participating in the Warsaw Treaty, messages which should express Romania's position, the call to do everything possible for the concomitant dismantlement, as soon as possible, of military blocs -- both the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty -- in order to strengthen their collaboration in the socialist construction and the struggle for disarmament, detente and peace throughout the world.

PLANINC SAYS U.S. COOPERATION 'STRATEGIC OPTION'

AU222030 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1029 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] New York, May 20 (TANJUG) -- Cooperation with the United States is a strategic option of Yugoslavia. We were close allies in World War II, and our two people have sympathies for each other.

This was stated by Yugoslav Prime Minister Milka Planinc in an interview to the NEW YORK TIMES before her visit to the United States later this month. She also said she expected the visit to focus on economic relations between the two countries.

On Yugoslavia's relations with the neighbouring countries, Planinc said they were "exceptionally good" with Italy. Albania, however, was causing problems by wanting for itself a part of Yugoslavia, interfering in its internal affairs and encroaching on its integrity. Bulgaria denies the rights to the Macedonian nation.

Prime Minister Planinc described the view that conflicts sometimes occur in Yugoslavia between the federation and the republics or provinces as "oversimplified."

Noting that Yugoslavia's is a young system developing under highly complex conditions, Planinc said that the existing development level of Yugoslavia's society makes it possible to discuss differences openly and to deal with them in this manner. These problems are not easy to settle, but Yugoslavia is developing as a democratic community in spite of all the complexities and differences, stated Prime Minister Planinc.

ARGENTINE PRESIDENT ALFONSIN POSTPONES VISIT

LD221129 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 22 May 85

[Excerpt] Buenos Aires, 22 May (TANJUG) -- It was officially announced in Buenos Aires last night that because of the aggravated political and social situation in Argentina, President Raul Alfonsin has postponed his planned visit to Yugoslavia. It was also said that for the same reason Alfonsin will not go to Geneva where he was to open the current session of the International Labor Organization.

CPSU CENTRAL AUDITING DELEGATION MEETS BELOVSKI

LD222034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG) -- League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency Secretary Dimce Belovski today received a delegation of the Central Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Commission President Gennadiy Sirov.

Belovski acquainted the delegation with the current tasks and activities of the LCY in the country's further socialist self-management development.

The mutual wish was expressed further to promote relations and cooperation between the two parties and the two countries, on the jointly defined principles.

The Soviet Party delegation left for Moscow today.